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Government and the Humane Spirit

by CHARLES A. BEARD

NEAR the close of his long life, devoted to public services, James Madison reviewed his rich experience and sought to lift the veil on the future of his country. He estimated that by 1930 the population of the United States would probably be 192,000,000 and that a majority of the people would then be "without property or the hope of acquiring it." "What is to be done?" he asked anxiously.

Upon due deliberation, Madison confessed that he was unable to answer his own question. He thought that it would be unsafe to admit this "unfavored class * * * to a full share of political power." but the alternative of exclusion, he quickly added, "would lead to a standing military force, dangerous to all parties and to liberty itself."

Having arrived at this dilemma, Madison remarked with diffidence that "republican laws of descent in equalizing the property of the citizens" might divert the course of the events he predicted. But he forecast the necessity of great alterations in public policy to meet the exigencies which he had divined. "To the effect of these changes—intellectual, moral, and social," he insisted, "the institutions and laws of the country must be adapted; and and it will require for the task all the wisdom of the wisest patriots."

Although Madison overestimated the population of 1930, he did with amazing vision forecast the primary features of the economic scene as they appeared 100 years later in 1930. The proportion of farmers who are tenants has increased rapidly until it is now more than 40 percent of the total number; and at least one-third of the nominal owners are heavily burdened by debts. In the great cities the major portion of the inhabitants are without property sufficient for assurance, if not entirely without hope of acquiring it. About 10,000,000 workers are unemployed and losing faith in the possibilities of employment. There have been grand gestures in the direction of economic security, but grave doubts are entertained respecting the underlying strength of that assurance. Our economic machine, on which all the people rely for sustenance and the Government depends for its very existence, rumbles along in uncertainty at about one-half of its full capacity.

Axioms of Experience and Facts of Economics

Such are the axioms of experienced statesmen. Such are glaring economic facts of our present situation. The crisis in national life forecast long ago has arrived. This is the age in which the wisdom of the wisest patriots, as Madison warned us, is required for the resolution of the dilemma. Not curtailment but expansion of production is now a primary need of American democracy. Our output of wealth must be materially increased, and there must be a distribution of employments, goods, and services wide enough to afford those opportunities and assurances upon which popular government rests and must ever rest. If the wisdom is lacking, force may be offered as a substitute. Nay; if history is any guide, force will be offered and democracy may be started swiftly spinning on a downward spiral.

Unless the agencies of popular will can legislate appropriately and administer efficiently, then democratic forms will perish, no matter what oceans of ink are spilt and what flowers of eloquence bloom in their defense. In ancient Rome men mouthed the grand phrase *Senatus Populusque Romanus* long after the assembly had degenerated into a farce and the senate had become the home of gibbering ghosts. The wrecks of monarchies, tyrannies, aristocracies, dictatorships, and democracies scattered through 50 centuries are solemn demonstrations that varied forms of government have failed at their tasks, in the discharge of their functions, under their symbols, in their times and places.

When, therefore, the test of efficiency is applied to democracy in the United States, an inescapable question arises: Is popular government, as now constituted, really competent to deal effectively with the general functions common to all governments, and more especially with the specific issues forced upon this government by giant technology, by the power of enormous private corporations, by huge urban aggregations unlike the cities of earlier times, by organized labor, by the decline in free-

hold agriculture, by periodic crises in economy, by the complications of internal rivalries? Here is a question of the hour which challenges all talents and powers. Can popular government come to grips with these issues, overcome them, and efficiently administer its decisions?

The Quest for Efficiency in Government

Already in our smaller laboratories of popular experimentation—cities and States—has appeared a profound conviction that many of our inherited institutions are not adapted to the requirements of the age; are in fact inefficient. In all our great cities the double chamber council has been abolished, a single chamber installed, and the mayor endowed with broad powers in his own right. In 650 cities the mayor-and-council system has been discarded and the city-manager plan substituted for it. In a majority of the States the inherited scheme of administration has recently been abrogated, in whole or in part, and the power of the governor over finance and the conduct of public business has been materially increased. In several States an attack has been made on the weaknesses of legislatures, and a legislative council has been instituted for the purpose of concentrating research, knowledge, and imagination on public questions. More and more the technical literature of competence in the field of State and local government is filled with doubt, inquiry, and a searching for constructive proposals.

This quest for efficiency in government extends to national affairs. Already critics are saying that in the Congress of the United States a zeal for spending borrowed money, placating special interests, and framing bills against dissident minorities outruns the capacity to concentrate powers of mind upon the supreme issues of the time. Already critics are saying that democracy cannot really act effectively in great matters; that party bickerings defeat the preparation, discussion, enactment, and administration of measures necessary to evoke creative energies, allay alarms, and bring our moral, industrial, and natural resources into wise and full use.

In allowing some validity to these criticisms, no aid and comfort need be given to the carping censors who fondly imagine that they can set the clock back to 1928 or 1898, or any other year in the past, and thus find instantaneous solutions of our pressing problems of efficiency in government. Most of the measures now urged upon the Federal administration by its detractors are the identical measures which were in full force during the regime of golden prosperity, so-called, which exploded with such a devastating crash in 1929. Why repeat the very origins of our present calamity? Both experience and reason suggest that the search for efficiency in government be turned to the invention of new devices for concentrating talents and wills on needs now clearly before us. The recitation of old phrases by a thousand specialists in propaganda will only add to the Nation's confusion and delay the application of its abilities and energies to the attainment of efficiency in government.

The Founding Fathers Remain Contemporary

Bound up with popular government and its functioning is the economy of the people who are supposed to control the form and process. Nothing is truer than the old adage "An empty meal sack cannot stand up." All governments have economic foundations. This axiom of politics does not come from armchair philosophers or demagogues or agitators. It comes from the founders of the Nation; builders of our institutions; from leaders of large vision, wide experience, and demonstrated capacity in great affairs. They made a revolution, waged a continental war for independence, offered their lives and property in defense of their cause, established the Republic, and steered it through perilous times. As against the weight of their authority and achievement, the axioms of private men pursuing private interests and of all petty phrase-makers in public affairs are as dust in the balance. Let those speak whose public accomplishments display the depth of their insight, the precision of their knowledge, the suppleness of their minds, the invincibility of their courage.

In words that admit of no equivocation these great of old who instruct us from their tombs declare that politics and economics are forever united. Ringing through utterances like the tones of a clear bell is the warning thesis: A wide diffusion of property and a general equality of condition are the very foundation stones of popular government; a high concentration of wealth is incompatible with universal suffrage; a broad distribution of opportunity and assurance to labor is necessary to the security of republican institutions; the revolutions which have shaken other societies to pieces have sprung from the antagonism of private interests and popular power, fired by ambitious leaders. These findings, wrought out of hard experience, are set forth in many places by American statesmen of early times.

If we are to learn from the instructions bequeathed to us by the founders and builders of the Republic, it is idle gossip to speak of the long-term promise of democracy unless leaders in government, business enterprise, agriculture, and labor can cast off their hate-born formulas, rise to the occasion as did the creators of the Republic, unite upon methods and measures that will expand production, enlarge and steady the domestic market, and assure the wide distribution of employments, goods, and services essential to the stability and progress of a democratic society.

But at a given moment government may be popular in form, efficient in administration, competent to provide the conditions necessary for a wide economic security, and yet by its conduct of affairs undermine those civil liberties upon which democracy depends for its long-run existence. It may destroy that freedom which brings knowledge and wisdom to bear upon its operations, supplies criticism, and furnishes constructive thought for new occasions and measures. In operation popular government is government by public opinion and decision, enlightened by discussions that permit all causes and parties to be duly heard, even those hateful to

the majority. Without freedom of press, speech, and person from arbitrary power, popular election becomes a farce, government a tyranny, and administration an agency of personal vengeance.

Civil Liberty, Foundation of Popular Government

Hence indispensable to the functioning of a democratic system on its own principles are those constitutional safeguards which place restraints upon the regular operations of majorities and upon the irregular insolence of mobs. Safeguards against press censorship, against interference with free speech, against arbitrary arrest, against secret trial and condemnation. Safeguards against the enactment of *ex post facto* laws making crimes out of actions that are not crimes when committed. Safeguards against depriving persons of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; against cruel and unusual punishments; against the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus; against the introduction of martial law; against assaults upon the whole structure of civil rights so painfully built up through centuries of conflict and sacrifice. To permit the suppression of civil liberties by public agencies or private mobs is to cut away the intellectual and moral foundations on which popular government rests in the long run, and to open the way for government by prescription and the firing squad, perhaps in the very name of the people.

It is not enough that the maxims of civil liberty be spread upon paper and celebrated by sunshine patriots. They are futile unless made dynamic in government itself. They are mere trash unless supported by citizens in daily conduct. Again and again they have been flouted by the Congress of the United States, by State legislatures, by prosecuting attorneys, by judges sworn to administer justice under law, and by lawless crowds of rich and poor.

Indeed, so flagrant have been violations in recent years that the danger has become obvious even to careless and indifferent citizens, and a counter-movement has been well launched. Defenders of liberty have come to its support. The Supreme Court, long heedless, has at length spoken out clearly and strongly against infractions. Once negligent—indeed, apparently hostile—the American Bar Association has at last recovered the grand tradition of Erskine and Mackintosh, established a powerful committee on civil liberty, and offered aid and counsel in the trial of causes involving personal rights. But more is needed: Systematic instruction in the subject by the public schools and a deep-rooted respect for the tolerance of civil liberty among the people in whose hands rests the fate of their own government.

Human Values and the Choices of Application

Universal suffrage, efficient government, material foundations, declarations of rights, and education alone cannot guarantee the safety of civilization against the storms of passion and the lust of men for power. Behind

all beneficent institutions of society, ever helping to sustain them, is that elusive but potent force known as the humane spirit. This spirit has ever been affiliated with and expressed in the noblest philosophies that have commanded the allegiance of hearts and minds since the beginnings of civilization. It has been associated with all great religions. Trampled upon by power, crushed by the organization of interests, the humane spirit endures in many forms, under varied professions of faith, and offers the strength of justice and mercy against the effronteries of tyranny and the angers of brute destruction. Without it even democratic government is an empty shell—a numerical counting of heads that may be farcical in procedure and cruel in outcome.

If our powers are to be effectively applied in sustaining the forms and achieving the ends of popular government, this humane spirit must be cherished and quickened and ever brought to bear as a dynamic element in the enrichment of life. Knowledge is not enough. Science is not enough. Both may be employed to kill as well as to heal. Accumulated facts, though high as mountains, give us no instruction in human values and the choices of application. It is the humane spirit that points the way to the good life. To reiterate the maxims of this spirit, to restate them in terms of new times, to spread them through education and daily intercourse, to exemplify them in private conduct, to incorporate them in public practice, to cling to them despite our infirmities and hypocrisies—this, too, is a task of all who fain would make government by the people and for the people endure upon the earth.

Such are the components of American democracy—all essential to its perpetuity and development. They are not figments of an imagination fashioned in a philosopher's alcove. They are realities of experience, tried and tested in the fires of centuries.

Such, too, are the challenges of dissolution and sheer might which threaten the existence and unfolding of all that is best in this democracy.

Facing this antithesis, nay, caught in the turmoil of these contending forces, it will not do for us, as Carlyle warned America long ago, to sit idly caucusing and ballot-boxing upon the graves of our ancestors, saying, "It is well; it is well." Rather it is for us to look with clear eyes upon the welter before us, to curb our hates and passions, to forget our trivial slogans and party distempers, to clarify and purify our hearts and minds, to discover or invent by concerted effort the best means for coping now with the central issues raised amid indubitable facts. It is for us to find the common denominators of faith, interest, and action necessary to success in applying the conclusions of our earnest searching, and, equipped with all the strong instruments of civilization, march upon the goal we have set before us, remembering that those who labor thoughtfully in this undertaking labor under the eye of eternity in a cause worthy of the greatest talents and the noblest wisdom.

The Migrants

This is the first of a series of five articles dealing with migration to the Pacific coast. In the words of the authors, to date "no attempt has been made to treat the movement and its implications as a whole." The study with which these articles are concerned represents such an attempt upon the part of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and agencies cooperating with it.

I. Recent Migration to the Pacific Coast

by DAVIS McENTIRE and N. L. WHETTEN

THE migration during recent years of distressed rural families from the Great Plains and the Cotton Belt to the Pacific coast has excited widespread interest and concern. Although historically this movement represents only the latest phase of a century and a half of westward migration, yet it has given rise to some unprecedented social problems. In contrast to earlier westward movements, notably that of the 1920's, the migration of the past few years has taken place in a setting of poverty, business depression, and unemployment. Relatively few of the rural migrants arrive with sufficient capital to buy or rent productive farms; few have the skills necessary to compete effectively for industrial jobs, even if such jobs were plentiful, which they are not.

Under these circumstances, the migrant families have commonly been compelled to accept the most meager opportunities. Many have settled as "stump ranchers" on the cut-over lands of the Pacific Northwest, where they face a long period of low income while slowly clearing up a small acreage for farming. Thousands of others have become seasonal farm laborers, moving constantly from farm to farm and from one area to another trying to piece together a sufficient number of seasonal jobs to earn a livelihood. The seasonal-migratory workers have always been a depressed group in Pacific coast agriculture, suffering from inadequate earnings and general under-employment, with all that this implies in terms of human distress. The entrance of thousands of "refugee" families from the Great Plains and the Cotton Belt into agricultural labor has served to make an already bad situation worse, through increased sharing of available work and exertion of a downward pressure on wage rates.

Even though the migrants constitute a peculiarly needy group, residence requirements render them ineligible for relief in the States of destination for a year or more until they can establish legal settlement. Nevertheless, a high proportion of them eventually have become dependent on relief or W. P. A. after establishing residence in their States of destination. Their difficulties in reestablishing themselves are reflected in bad housing

conditions, inadequate diets, lack of medical care, and lack of other elements of a decent living.

These problems have been previously discussed in *The Land Policy Review*, *Monthly Labor Review*, *Fortune*, and other periodicals. The sufferings of the migrants have been dramatized in John Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath." The Farm Security Administration and the Work Projects Administration have sought to meet the problems by emergency grants of money and commodities, creation of special works quotas, construction of migratory labor camps and low-rental housing units, organization of a medical cooperative, rehabilitation loans for farm settlement, and other measures. The President has appointed a committee, headed by the Administrator of the Work Projects Administration, to provide for coordination of Federal activities in regard to West coast migrant problems. In Congress bills have been introduced to provide for Federal assistance to the States in caring for needy nonresidents and for a Congressional investigation of the whole problem of interstate migration.

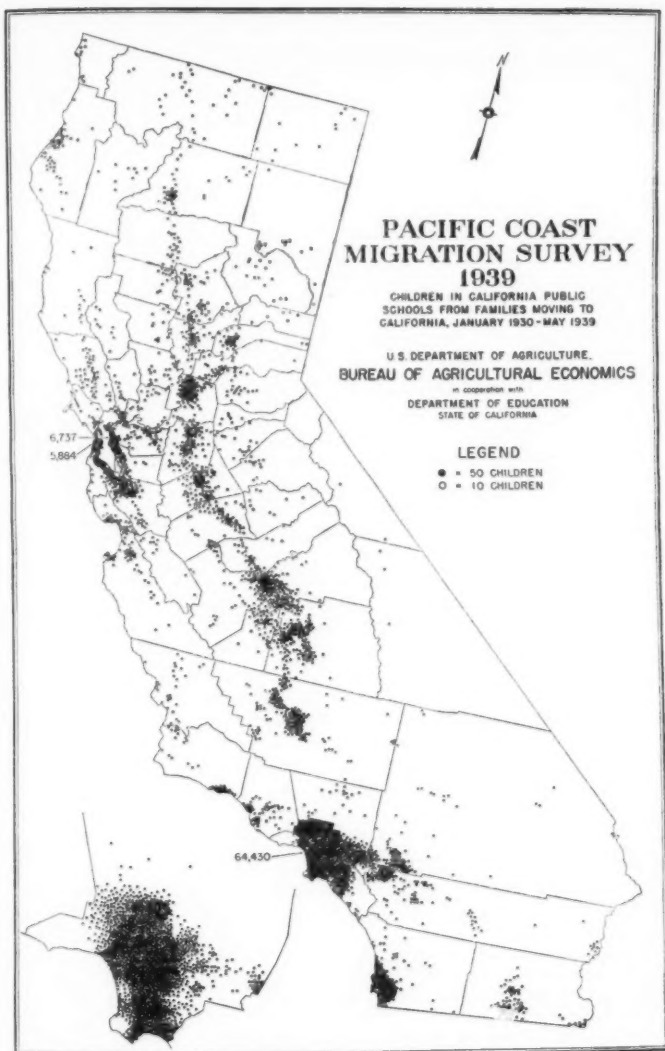
Searchlights of Fact Turned On the Unknown

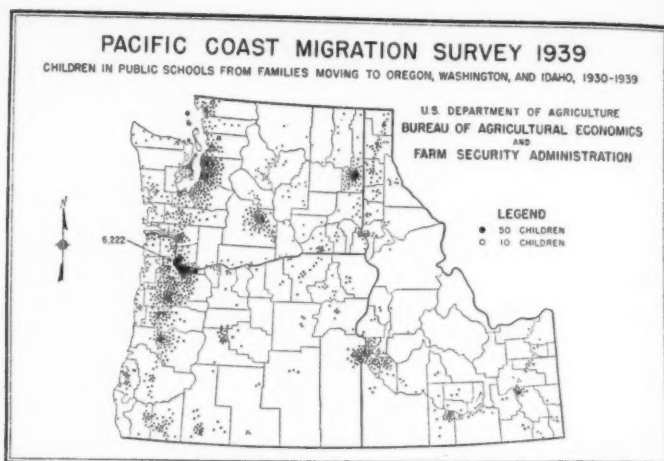
Despite the current interest and concern with the problems of the migrants, little is yet known concerning either the total number of migrant families, their characteristics, or the economic and social adjustments that they are making. A count at California borders by inspectors of the State Department of Agriculture recorded the entry from other States of more than 312,000 persons "in need of manual employment" during the 4 years from July 1935 to July 1939. A summary of this count is given in table 4, page 16. It is not known how many of these persons remained in California, however, and comparable data are not available for any other State. A few important studies have been made of special groups, such as those registering with the United States Employment Service¹ or those receiving emergency grants from the Farm Security Administration,² but no attempt has been made to treat the movement and its implications as a whole.

This task has been undertaken by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and cooperating agencies in a broad study of the migrant problem in California, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho begun during the past winter and still in progress at the present time. The study is conducted jointly by three divisions of the Bureau—divisions of farm population and rural welfare, land economics, and farm management and costs—in cooperation with the Farm Security Administration and State agricultural experiment stations of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. The departments of education in the four States, the Federal Bureau of Reclamation, the

¹ *Migration Into Oregon, 1930-37*. V. B. Stanbery, Oregon State Planning Board, Portland, 1938.

² *A Study of 6,655 Migrant Households in California, 1938*. Farm Security Administration, Region IX, and Work Projects Administration. San Francisco, 1939.





University of California Department of Economics, and the California Division of Immigration and Housing also have collaborated on certain phases of the study.

Investigations are being carried out along several lines. One survey, made through the public schools, involved the completion of a brief questionnaire under supervision of the teacher by each child in school from families moving to their States of present residence since January 1, 1930.³ Detailed field surveys of new settlement were made in more than a score of areas scattered throughout the four States mentioned above and selected to represent the diversity of conditions under which the newcomers are attempting to relocate. Finally a number of studies are being made of the effects of the more important measures taken by public agencies to help or hinder the resettlement of the migrant group.

Where Do They Go and When Did They Arrive?

None of these studies are complete as yet. This paper presents merely a preliminary analysis of the total number of children from migrant families⁴ who filled out the school survey questionnaire. The analysis has

³ This survey was conducted in cooperation with the labor relations division, Farm Security Administration, Region XI, and the bureau of attendance and migratory schools, California State Department of Education.

⁴ The term "migrant family" is defined for purposes of the Bureau study, to include any family which last moved to California, Oregon, Washington, or Idaho subsequent to January 1, 1930.

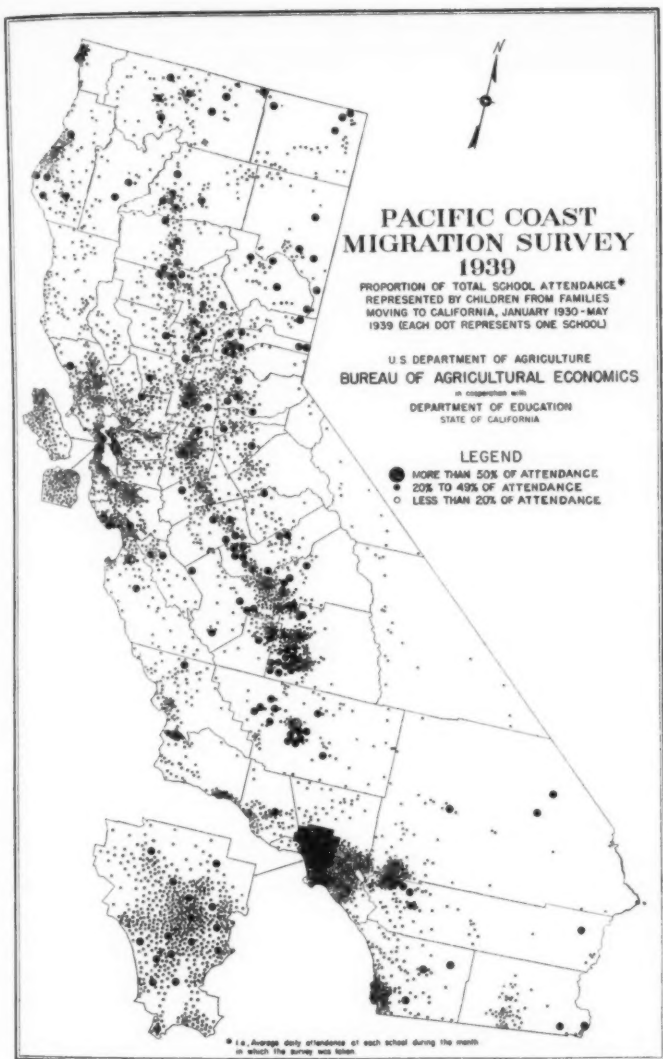


TABLE 1.—*Coverage of migration survey through public schools in California, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, 1939*¹

State	Number of schools or school districts ²	Percent of schools cooperating in survey	Percent of total school enrollment included in cooperating schools	Number of returns received	Percent returns are of enrollment in cooperating schools
California.....	4,378	98.7	³ 99.5	182,168	³ 17.3
Oregon.....	1,820	87.5	95.6	30,300	15.1
Washington.....	1,294	81.3	85.8	30,605	10.5
Idaho.....	1,061	55.1	³ 74.4	11,191	³ 14.4
Total, four States....	8,553	88.3	94.8	254,264	15.6

¹ All figures preliminary; subject to revision.

² All public elementary and high schools, exclusive of evening schools and adult education classes. Figures for California represent individual schools. For Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, figures represent school districts each of which includes one or more schools.

³ Percent of average daily attendance.

to do with the geographic distribution of the responding children, the proportion which they constitute of total school enrollment,⁵ and, for California, the years when the migrant families arrived in the State, and the size of the communities in which they have settled. The school survey was conducted in more than four-fifths of the public elementary and high schools in California, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. Junior colleges in California were also included in the survey, though not in the other States. Evening high schools and adult education classes were not included.

The schools cooperating in the survey include slightly less than 95 percent of the total school enrollment in the four States.⁵ The survey's coverage is indicated in table 1. Coverage was most complete in California, where more than 98 percent of the schools cooperated, representing 99.5 percent of the average daily attendance at all schools during the period of the survey. In Idaho the percent of coverage dropped to 55.1 percent of the schools but included nearly three-fourths of the total State average daily attendance.

Teachers were instructed to obtain a completed questionnaire from every child whose parents or guardian moved to present State of residence since January 1, 1930. The questionnaire asked for information concerning family composition, occupation of the family head both before and after migration, places of previous residence, year of arrival in State and

⁵ Average daily attendance for California and Idaho.

TABLE 2.—Children in California public schools from families moving to the State January 1930–May 1939, classified according to year of arrival, by size of community in which the schools are located

Year of arrival	Size of community (population)											
	Total		Under 100		100–999		1,000–2,499		2,500–9,999		10,000–99,999	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Total	168,964	100.0	18,957	100.0	12,729	100.0	10,152	100.0	28,456	100.0	41,573	100.0
1930	10,690	6.3	900	4.7	605	4.8	649	6.4	1,826	6.4	2,911	7.0
1931	10,256	6.1	819	4.3	573	4.5	531	5.2	1,552	5.5	2,932	7.0
1932	9,788	5.8	738	3.9	517	4.1	462	4.6	1,549	5.4	2,734	6.6
1933	10,264	6.1	900	4.7	626	4.9	563	5.6	1,602	5.6	2,690	6.5
1934	14,788	8.7	1,544	8.2	1,122	8.8	903	8.9	2,524	8.9	3,701	8.9
1935	20,191	11.9	2,358	12.4	1,632	12.8	1,347	13.3	3,511	12.3	4,885	11.7
1936	31,531	18.7	3,937	20.8	2,615	20.5	2,012	19.8	5,507	19.4	7,265	17.5
1937	28,404	16.8	3,747	19.8	2,393	18.8	1,761	17.3	4,932	17.3	6,628	15.9
1938	21,260	12.6	2,712	14.3	1,814	14.2	1,253	12.3	3,398	12.0	4,979	12.0
1939	5,411	3.2	641	3.4	380	3.0	316	3.1	853	3.0	1,246	3.0
Unknown	6,381	3.8	661	3.5	452	3.6	355	3.5	1,202	4.2	1,602	3.9
Percent of cases in each community size-group	.....	100.0	.....	11.2	.....	7.5	.....	6.0	.....	16.9	.....	24.6
												33.8

county of present residence, and other socio-economic data. Thus the survey is intended to develop information concerning a large number of migrant families having children in the public schools, including not only the distressed rural group but also migrating industrial workers and many others.

In all, 254,264⁶ completed questionnaires were received. These returns represent individual children and not families. They are being combined into family groups, and the data will be tabulated for families. Experience with the materials thus far seems to indicate that the returns will combine into family groups in the ratio of 1.5 to 1.8 responding children per family. On this basis it is estimated that the total returns for the four States, including 254,264 responding children, will represent approximately 150,000 families.

The General Trend and the Migrants' Trend

The geographic distribution of the children from whom returns were received is shown for California on map 1, page 9, and for the States of the Pacific Northwest on map 2, page 10. On the whole, the pattern of distribution tends to follow that of the general population, although there are many important exceptions, and some of them will be suggested below. The largest concentrations of newcomers are found in Los Angeles County, the interior valleys, and the San Francisco Bay region in California; and in southwestern Oregon, the Willamette Valley, Puget Sound region, Northern Idaho, and the Snake River Valley in the Pacific Northwest.

For California, the pupils may be classified according to the year their families moved to the State and according to the size of the community in which the school they attend is located (table 2, page 13). About one out of every four responding children lives in rural communities under 2,500 in population, while one-third are in cities of 100,000 and over. The city of Los Angeles contains more than 60 percent of all those in cities of 100,000 or over. Slightly more than 10 percent of the returns came from schools located in open country districts containing centers of less than 100 in population.

At a glance it may be seen that the years of greatest migration to California were 1936 and 1937. More than one-third (35.5 percent) of the total number arrived during these 2 years. The concentration in these years is considerably more pronounced in the smaller communities than in the larger ones. Two-fifths of the newcomers in places of less than 1,000 population arrived during these 2 years. By 1938 the movement had definitely slowed down. The figures for 1939 represent only the first 4 months of this year.

⁶ These are gross returns received. Actually the number of questionnaires which can be used will be somewhat smaller, owing to the fact that teachers enumerated a few children who did not come within the scope of the survey.

TABLE 3.—California public schools classified according to proportion of their average daily attendance, consisting of children from families moving to California January 1930–May 1939, by size of community

Percent average daily attendance	Total	Size of community (population)									
		Under 100		100–999		1,000–2,499		2,500–9,999		10,000–99,999	
		Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Total.....	1 4,253	100.0		624	100.0	242	100.0	460	100.0	584	100.0
Under 10.....	1,408	33.1		208	33.4	72	29.8	99	21.5	128	21.9
10–19.....	1,365	32.1		201	32.2	94	38.8	206	44.8	274	46.9
20–29.....	817	19.2		120	19.2	54	22.3	100	21.7	132	22.6
30–39.....	348	8.2		55	8.8	15	6.2	38	8.3	30	5.2
40–49.....	134	3.1		20	3.2	4	1.7	11	2.4	13	2.2
50 and over.....	181	4.3		20	3.2	3	1.2	6	1.3	7	1.2
Percent of total average daily attendance in each community size-group.....	2 16.1	20.0		19.1	15.0	16.5	15.0	15.6	15.0	15.6	15.6

¹ This figure is less than the number of schools given in table 1 because 125 schools for which current average daily attendance figures are not available at present are omitted from this table.

² This percentage is smaller than that given in table 1 because of the omission of certain schools from the tabulation, for the reason given above.

TABLE 4.—Persons "in need of manual employment" entering California by motor vehicle, by States, July 1, 1935–June 30, 1939 ¹

State of origin	Total, 4 years		July-December 1935	1936	1937	1938	January-June 1939
	Number	Percent					
All States, excluding California:							
Number.....	312,278	100	42,559	84,833	90,761	67,664	26,461
Percent.....			13.6	27.2	29.1	21.7	8.4
Great Plains States.....	159,963	51.3	20,021	46,587	48,081	32,655	12,619
Oklahoma.....	70,857	22.7	7,561	22,989	21,709	13,212	5,386
Texas.....	32,850	10.5	3,631	8,304	8,723	8,684	3,508
Kansas.....	13,689	4.4	2,238	3,900	4,484	2,209	858
Colorado.....	10,858	3.4	1,584	2,249	3,702	2,428	895
New Mexico.....	10,221	3.3	1,578	2,440	2,680	2,457	1,066
Nebraska.....	9,119	2.9	1,258	3,019	3,024	1,403	415
Montana.....	3,896	1.2	834	969	1,102	858	133
South Dakota.....	3,361	1.1	468	1,067	1,164	526	136
North Dakota.....	2,748	.9	532	912	834	387	83
Wyoming.....	2,364	.8	337	738	659	491	139
Mountain States.....	51,349	16.4	5,470	10,745	14,611	13,928	6,595
Arizona.....	37,516	12.0	3,097	7,329	10,613	10,868	5,609
Idaho.....	6,964	2.2	1,193	1,733	2,012	1,514	512
Utah.....	3,689	1.2	678	1,069	1,063	623	256
Nevada.....	3,180	1.0	502	614	923	923	218
South Central States.....	44,457	14.2	5,292	12,763	13,548	9,257	3,597
Arkansas.....	24,330	7.8	2,866	6,890	7,232	5,180	2,162
Missouri.....	20,127	6.4	2,426	5,873	6,316	4,077	1,435
Pacific States.....	30,016	9.6	5,822	6,685	8,831	6,656	2,022
Oregon.....	19,427	6.2	3,629	4,384	5,592	4,350	1,472
Washington.....	10,589	3.4	2,193	2,301	3,239	2,306	550
All other States, excluding California.....	26,493	8.5	5,954	8,053	569	5,168	1,628
California.....	59,844	.....	9,901	12,839	14,215	17,487	5,402

¹ Data collected by border inspectors of Bureau of Plant Quarantine, California Department of Agriculture.

Wide Differences in the Impact of Migration

Some indication of the impact of this migration on the local communities is afforded by the proportion of school attendance represented by children from migrant families. In the State as a whole (California),

children who returned the migrant survey questionnaire amounted to slightly more than 17 percent of the total average daily attendance during the period that the survey was in progress (table 1). The proportion of average daily attendance represented by migrant children, and hence the impact of the migration, varies widely, however, in different schools and in different parts of the State. Nearly a third of California schools appear to be relatively untouched by the migration, since less than 10 percent of their average daily attendance consists of children from migrant families (table 3, page 15). At the other extreme, in 663, or 15.6 percent of the schools, migrant children account for 30 percent or more of the total average daily attendance; and in 181 schools the proportion is 50 percent or more. The proportion of average daily attendance in the various schools of California represented by children returning the migrant survey questionnaire is shown graphically on map 3, page 11.

Widest Variations Are in Rural Communities

The rural communities have experienced both the greatest and the least impact of migration. About one school child in every five living in communities of less than 1,000 in population answered the migrant questionnaire as compared with one in six for the State as a whole. More than four-fifths of the schools in which migrant children make up 50 percent or more of the average daily attendance are located in small communities of less than a thousand population. On the other hand, more than three-fourths of the schools having less than 10 percent migrant children are also located in communities of less than 1,000 population.

According to the California border count mentioned above, 51.3 percent of the 312,000 persons "in need of manual employment" entering California during the 4 years prior to July 1939 came from the 10 Great Plains States, and an additional 26.2 percent came from the States of Arizona, Arkansas, and Missouri combined. More than one out of every five (22.7 percent) came from Oklahoma alone. The greatest number came during 1936 and 1937. This coincides with the school-survey findings as to years of arrival, except that the two sources differ as to the exact year of greatest concentration, it being 1936 for the school-survey data and 1937 for the plant-quarantine count. This may possibly represent some occupational selectivity, since the border counts included only persons "in need of manual employment" and the school-survey data included all occupational groups. Any such differences will be revealed by subsequent further analysis.³

³ The authors acknowledge their indebtedness to W. P. O'Day, of the labor relations division, Farm Security Administration, Region XI, and W. W. Troxell, of the B. A. E. land economics division, who directed the school survey in the Pacific Northwest; to Lillian B. Hill, of the California State Department of Education, who made possible the school survey in California, and to Elizabeth Fine, of the B. A. E. land economics division, who supervised the clerical work on the California school survey.

Definitions of "Efficient Farming"

by SHERMAN E. JOHNSON

THE first phase of the agricultural adjustment program was often criticized for ignoring the principles of "good farm management"; the program was said to conflict with "efficient farming" and "efficient organization of agriculture." When the regional agricultural adjustment study was undertaken in 1935, one of its objectives was to determine "the nature and extent of desirable adjustments in farming in the different type-of-farming regions and areas within each State from the standpoint of good farm-management practice and conservation of agricultural resources."¹ Moreover, estimates were made of the probable changes in acreages, numbers and volume of crops and livestock if such adjustments were put into practice in each area.

The early work on the county planning project, which followed the regional adjustment study, was somewhat less specific regarding needed adjustments in the interest of "good farm management." The emphasis was placed on the conservation aspects. More recently county planning has concerned itself with the mapping of land-use areas with similar physical conditions, types of farming, and adjustment problems as a preface to planning a long-term adjustment program for the county. In the adjustment-planning stage of this project the questions of "good farm management" and "efficient farming" will again come to the forefront. In view of the important place that county planning is assuming at the present time, it seems highly desirable that we have a clear conception of the implications of these terms.

Distinctions Between Social and Individual Interest

"Good farm management" is often used synonymously with "efficient farming." There is no objection to this, providing a distinction is made between individual and social interest in the use of both terms. Good farm management, or efficient farming, from the individual's point of view will provide, for instance, only for such conservational practices as appear desirable to the individual operator, but society's interest in the land may not be adequately protected.

In technical economic terms "efficiency" is defined as "output per unit of input." Therefore, the most efficient organization of a farm from the individual's point of view would be one that would return the highest net income to the operator from the use of his productive resources. If the question is approached from the standpoint of the initiation of a new business rather than from that of a "going concern" (which would have

¹ Tolley, H. R. *Regional Adjustment and Democratic Planning. Address before Association of Land-Grant Colleges, Washington, D. C., November 20, 1935.*

some fixed resources to consider), efficient farming (again from the individual point of view) involves the "best fit" in amounts and grades of land, labor, capital, and managerial ability for the type of farming in the area that is most remunerative to the operator, in view of prevailing prices for farm products and for cost goods, including land; also it involves the best utilization of these resources in the production process—in other words, individual farm adjustment.

This concept may be illustrated from the spring-wheat area of north-eastern Montana, where a capable operator farming with tractor power probably should operate at least 800 acres of cropland, including both wheat and summer fallow, in order to make efficient use of power equipment and the labor which he and his family can supply, considering long-term prices for farm products and for cost goods.²

"The Best Middle-Term Adjustment"—for Society

This goal of efficient farming from the individual point of view may be contrasted with the size of farm needed in the area to supply a farm family with an income that might be considered a minimum—the point below which a socially desirable level of living cannot be maintained. It is to be recognized, of course, that a desirable level-of-living goal cannot be adequately defined in dollar terms; it is also to be noticed that the cash outlay for living is necessarily much higher in an area such as north-eastern Montana, where the cold winters require much fuel and a high investment for shelter and where gardens are often a failure, than in areas more humid and of milder climate. Despite these difficulties, it may help to visualize the problem if we try to determine the size of farm needed to supply an income of \$800 to the farm family for its labor, management, and investment in land. About 300 acres of cropland (supplemented with some grazing land for livestock) would be required for this income goal.³ But if we set even this acreage as the minimum size of farm and do not reduce the acreage in farms above that size, it would mean a displacement of about half the farmers now operating in the area.

Before such an adjustment is seriously proposed, two questions must be explored. First, are all farmers who would remain in the area capable of operating farms of even this "minimum size." Second, what are the other alternatives for the farmers who would be displaced? It seems quite likely that many farmers who would remain in the area are not equipped by experience or otherwise to operate a farm large enough to yield a "desirable" level of living, and therefore would not increase their incomes as the size of farm increased. They would, therefore, find their "best fit" on smaller

² Clawson, Marion, Saunderson, M. H., and Johnson, Neil W., *Farm Adjustments in Montana. Study of Area IV—Its Past, Present, and Future*. Unpublished manuscript.

³ These estimates were made on the same basis of long-term average prices for wheat and livestock and for cost goods as the minimum size for efficient operation.

units even though the \$800 income goal could not be achieved on the smaller farms. Many farmers who would be displaced could not find places in other areas or other occupations that would improve their present status.

One may then be forced to the conclusion that the "best middle term adjustment" of farming in the area, from the social point of view at least, may involve a displacement of a much smaller number of families than would be required to meet the goal of an \$800 earned income; and that lower than desirable levels of living as measured by this standard will have to be tolerated, or farm incomes supplemented by contributions from public funds.⁴

In its broader aspects, we must also consider "efficient farming" in relation to other industries and other employments. The statement has been made that "the only economically tenable idea of adjusting agriculture in balance with other industries includes the goal of equally efficient use of capital and labor."⁵ One may question whether "equally efficient use of capital and labor" has any comparative value so long as production in many lines is restricted to the amount absorbed by the market at a predetermined price; and entrance to the employments that would be most remunerative from the social point of view is therefore not freely open, either to the unemployed in the cities or to the agricultural workers who perhaps should shift to industrial pursuits in order to equalize efficiency in the use of capital and labor.

Costs of Displacement: Another Item on the Bill

Considering wheat farming by itself, labor and capital are used more efficiently (a higher output in value of wheat per unit of value input) on the 800-acre farms than on the 300-acre farms mentioned above. But adjustment in that direction represents a net social gain only if the cost of finding other opportunities for the displaced population is included in the calculation.⁶

Is it possible, then, to plan adjustments in agricultural areas without some basic assumptions regarding total volume of agricultural output, farm prices, industrial recovery, and alternative opportunities for the farm population that would be displaced if agriculture were organized for most efficient operation, considering variations in ability of farm operators? Most certainly the agriculture of any area would be differently organized and operated 10 years from now if farm prices remained approximately

⁴ We should also bear in mind that farm families vary in size and age composition, which results in varying needs for income.

⁵ Nourse, E. G.; Davis, J. S.; Black, J. D. *Three years of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration*, 1937, p. 471.

⁶ In the absence of other opportunities the small operators may hold the price of land so high that adjustment to larger units does not promote efficiency from the individual point of view.

at present levels and opportunities in industry were closed by chronic unemployment, than it would be with a considerable recovery of farm prices and remunerative opportunities opening up in other industries.

We seem to be forced to the conclusion that county planning must be projected on the basis of both of these situations, and that it must differentiate clearly between the more immediately realizable and the distant goals. Perhaps these points can best be illustrated by considering the problem in some of the farming areas in the southern Appalachians. A farm there ordinarily has about 15 acres of cropland utilized in growing general crops and livestock largely for home use, with this perhaps supplemented by growing some tobacco. A net cash income of about \$200 is obtained from this organization under present price and cost conditions. Let us assume that if the crop acreage per farm were increased threefold (to 45 acres) a net income of \$600 would be realized. Suppose we also assume that this is our minimum "desirable level of living" goal in this area. A capable operator probably would require at least 60, maybe 75, acres of cropland for efficient operation. To reach the net cash income goal of \$600 would require a displacement of two-thirds of the farmers now in the area.⁷ If they all stay and only the net increase in population leaves, net cash incomes remain at \$200 (assuming present price conditions). If two-thirds of them are displaced, where should they go? What are their best alternatives? If they cannot find industrial employment of any kind, is society better served if they remain in the area even at a low level of living? Of course, there may be better alternatives in agriculture than the area in which they are now located, but resettlement on farms elsewhere probably will mean a dividing up, or sharing of land resources there, and thus a tendency toward reduced incomes for present farmers in that area.⁸

Improving Income for Farmers "in Place"

Under present farm-price conditions and industrial unemployment, a realistic approach to the "middle term" adjustment problem in such an area is one that seeks ways and means of improving incomes for the number of farmers now living there. For instance, by use of lime and fertilizer and some changes in the farm organization it may be possible for many farmers to increase net incomes \$50 per year. This is not much, perhaps, but it represents a 25-percent increase from \$200. The possibility of increased production of food and feed for home use has received much

⁷ It is recognized that topographic conditions might prevent combination of units to achieve this size; also that the assumption of \$600 as a level of living goal may be questioned. This figure is used purely for illustrative purposes. The only basic assumption is that there is some level below which socially desirable living conditions cannot be maintained.

⁸ It is also recognized that the population in an area of this type is not easily uprooted even when better opportunities are available.

attention recently, especially in the Farm Security Administration program. While this area, as contrasted with northeast Montana, for instance, has climatic conditions favorable to such development, we must not forget that there are many necessities that farmers cannot produce at home.

At the same time that such adjustments are worked out efforts should be made to open up the avenues of escape in such a way that outside opportunities can be seized whenever they appear on the horizon. Among other things, this means adequate roads and schools, as well as public expenditures for health, and provision for the growing generation of full information regarding conditions and opportunities elsewhere.

Such "middle term" adjustments do not represent adequate "long term" solutions. If there is no recovery in farm prices and a large volume of unemployment persists, then agriculture will be forced to carry more than its share of the burden, if those who are now stranded in farming, plus the natural increase in population, must remain on farms. Under those conditions perhaps opportunities should be created with public funds for a part of the stranded population to engage in sufficient industrial activity to meet at least a part of their own needs for nonfarm goods. Somehow the jam must be broken unless we become content with chronic poverty.

If, on the other hand, we can look forward to industrial recovery, the virtual disappearance of unemployment, and some increase in farm prices relative to cost goods, our adjustment problem for a given area is affected in two ways: First, higher incomes will be obtained on farms of a given size; and, second, industrial outlets usual in the past for the surplus farm population will be reopened. Under such conditions we can plan for adjustments in sizes and types of farms that will yield at least a "minimum socially desirable level of living." If free entrance to other occupations also can be provided, we should strive for farm units of types and sizes that will achieve the goal of "equally efficient use of labor and capital" as compared with other industries.⁹

Efficiency and the Quest for the Best Alternative

Viewed in the light of the above considerations "efficient farming" becomes a question of seeking the best alternatives that are open. This holds true both for short- and long-time periods, and from the individual as well as the social angles. For the individual, it does not necessarily mean the highest profit combination of land, labor, and equipment that it would be possible to devise. Nor does it necessarily mean maintenance of land and buildings at a high standard of physical productivity, nor fol-

⁹ The goal advanced by Nourse, Davis, and Black. See p. 20. The noneconomic arguments for maintaining a relatively large population on farms also should be considered.

lowing the best-known technical production practices. It means rather the estimating of the highest income possibilities in a given situation and a balancing of present and future incomes. If the individual operator finds himself in desperate financial circumstances, it may be "efficient farming" temporarily to forego repairs on buildings and equipment, and to practice a relatively soil-depleting system of farming in order to tide over an emergency situation. He may also be located on a farm too small to utilize equipment and family labor to advantage, but he may not be able to obtain credit to expand his operations. Therefore, he will try to realize as large an income as possible from the farm he now has. At the same time, however, he may be looking forward to an expansion of his operations in the future.

In the public interest it often may be desirable to prevent the soil depletion which results from extreme need for present income by individual operators. The group as a whole is better able to strike a balance in favor of future income than is an individual.

The Use of Manpower in Industry or in Agriculture

For society, also, the question of efficiency in farming is one of alternative use of resources. If a product of higher net value can be obtained by utilizing additional labor and capital in industry rather than in agriculture (from an economic standpoint), there should be a shift in that direction. But this means that free entrance must be provided to industries that would yield the product of higher value. If it is temporarily impossible to break the jam of industrial depression and unemployment, the best alternative for the present farm population, for the Nation, may be found in farming, even though their employment there will result in lowered efficiency, if efficiency is simply looked at as a matter of organization of operating units.

In county planning, a long-term goal of adjustment that will yield incomes sufficient at least to maintain a "socially desirable" level of living may still be adhered to for farmers capable of operating such units. This goal then serves the very useful purpose of pointing out the direction in which changes should take place. To accomplish it may require the use of external forces, such as the public action programs. The population may be stranded in an area because of lack of knowledge of other opportunities, of financial resources to go elsewhere, or of lack of training for other occupations, or because artificial barriers restrict entrance to other areas or occupations. It should be repeated, too, that in the long view desirable social adjustment requires that human and other resources be employed in the alternative uses most beneficial to society. When the resources are thus employed, agricultural as well as other products will be produced at the lowest social cost. And that also represents the highest efficiency.

The Wheat Community

by J. H. McLEOD

WHEAT Community in Roane County, Tenn., composed of 734 farm people, offers a clear-cut picture of rural people working together to solve their economic and social problems. Because the Wheat organization has been functioning steadily for nearly 3 years, with carefully kept records, it affords valuable perspectives upon the accomplishments that are possible when a group of farmers work together to improve their community. Nor is Wheat Community by any means the only section of Tennessee, or the country, where similar progress has been made.

Flowing from this work in 2 years, these accomplishments may be listed: The establishment of a cooperative telephone service where previously there had been no telephones at all; organization of a cooperative for grading and selling eggs; application of phosphate to 1,050 acres of pasture and hay crops; application of 2,000 tons of lime to 1,400 acres; reforestation of 30 acres of land; completion of 10 new painted homes and 10 brooder houses; erection of a modern up-to-date clubroom as a meeting place for the community; a decrease of 37 percent in soil-depleting crops; 3 new flocks of sheep, 10 new flocks of turkeys, and 5 purebred bulls brought into the community.

Wheat Community, sometimes called the Wheat watershed area, is located largely in the second civil district of Roane County; a small section at the northeast corner lies in Anderson County. It is bounded on the north by Black Oak Ridge, on the east by the Anderson County line, on the south by Chestnut Ridge, and on the west by the public road which leads from Wheat to Dyllis. The Wheat community center is located at the extreme southwest of the watershed area.

The topography could well be divided into three land groups. One-third of the area ranges from level up to 12 percent slope; one-third from 12 to 20 percent; and the other third is made up of steeper land. The main valleys in the area run northeast and southwest.

This area contains 11,119 acres, of which about 3,900 acres, or 30 percent of the total, is in tillable crops and open pasture land. Hays account for 2,038 acres; row crops, 1,110 acres; small grain, 517 acres; and orchards, 161 acres. There are 133 farms in this area. About one-third of them are less than 50 acres in size; one-third from 50 to 90 acres; and the remaining one-third 100 acres or more. The average farm is 84 acres.

There are 194 families, who include 734 persons, living on the 133 farms. Of the population, 283 are under 15 years of age; 230 between 15 and 35; 157 between 36 and 60; and 64 over 60 years. But 20 persons, or about 3 percent, obtain employment outside the area. In the Wheat Community center itself are located the schools, stores, and churches.



There are 194 houses in the area occupied as follows: Owner operators, 131; rented houses, 8; tenant houses, 55. The total assessed value of these buildings, and the land, is about \$149,330, with the land representing 75 percent of this. The tax rate is \$2.90 per \$100 assessment. There are only 16 farms with delinquent taxes, and only 12 are mortgaged. The average annual income per farm is about \$200.

From East Fork to Wheat Community

Wheat Community was settled about 1800 and received its present name from the first postmaster, H. F. Wheat, in 1880. Before that time it was known as East Fork. Although most of the old landmarks are gone, several of the early settlers are still represented by descendants with such names as Smith, Sellers, Hembree, Watson, and Christenberry.

At the time the community was organized the farms were badly run down, eroded, and gullied, and crop yields were low. Livestock population was very low, and most of the tillable lands were in cultivated or nonrow crops. A detailed analysis of changes made since and through the community planning, based on a survey made in the spring

of 1937 and a recent check-up, will be made later in this article. It may be said here, however, that since 1937 considerable progress has been made toward developing a rounded program to check erosion, maintain and build soil fertility, conserve soil moistures, and lay the foundation for increased economic returns from the operation of these farms in the future.

The reconstruction of soil fertility through better use of land is of course a slow process. Although improvement has been made it will be many years yet before land in the Wheat Community can compare favorably with the more fertile areas of East Tennessee.

The idea of community planning in Wheat was first discussed at a group meeting in the community February 8, 1936. At that time 34 farmers were present. Nothing definite was done then, but it was agreed to hold another meeting a week later. Forty farmers were present at this second meeting, and, after considerable discussion, a vote was taken on going ahead with the organization plans: 14 wanted more time to think the matter over, but 26 favored going ahead.

The Progress From Idea to Organization

Between these meetings in February 1936 and the beginning of 1937 little was done in an organized way, but the idea of community organization for planning was kept before the local people, largely through the work of county Extension workers.

On January 23, 1937, another meeting was called, with 65 farmers present. They were unanimous in their approval of the idea, and an organization for local land planning was perfected, with seven trustees elected to direct the organization in its planning work.

Now that the farmers had decided to go ahead, a survey was made of the community. The trustees were in charge and did most of the work, receiving assistance from the other farmers in the community, and, on certain technical phases, from specialists of the Extension Service and the Experiment Station of the University of Tennessee.

The Extension farm management department then summarized the survey data to get some idea of what conditions prevailed in the community, what improvements could be proposed for the community, and what services the several agricultural agencies could render. After analyzing the survey, the trustees and the county Extension workers drafted a tentative program. The people of the community were then called together in a general meeting for the discussion of this program.

An outline of work was set up and all through the year this work went steadily ahead. Regular monthly meetings were held, with 60 percent or more of the farm families present at each meeting. The trustees, who are responsible for all activities sponsored in the community, broke their program down into the following heads: Land use, cover crops, terracing, liming, forestry, livestock, and poultry, with fur-

ther subdivisions under crops and livestock. Goals to be reached were established under each of these heads.

Although 1937 was the first year of the organization, comparison of the goals sought and the actual achievements during this year showed that a large step forward had been taken.

	Goal	Achievement
1. Number acres terraced.....	200	100
2. Number acres of cover crop.....	1,300	1,500
3. Number tons lime used.....	1,300	2,000
4. Number acres fertilized.....	1,000	1,200
5. Number homes painted.....	10	12
6. Number mail boxes improved.....	50	52
7. Number rods of new fence.....	17,000	20,000

It will be noted that the last three items listed have nothing to do with land improvement. It was the opinion of the farmers, however, that the program should be broader in scope than merely the crop-producing land. This dual program of farm and home improvement was carried further in 1938.

A comparison of some of these figures with those in the years before 1937 is illuminating. Insofar as cover crops are concerned, for instance, 17 farmers seeded crimson clover in 1937, while before then only 1 farmer had done so; 7 farmers seeded red clover, whereas before there had been only 1. One farmer put in 8 acres of alfalfa, and there had been none before 1937.

The work in 1937 included forestry, as the trustees found that the erosion problem would be considerably simplified if more land were set in trees. Twenty-seven acres of land were reforested to black locust and 3 acres to pine. Six thinning demonstrations were carried out on a total of 20 acres. Two meetings on wood management were held and also a 2-day training school for farmers. All these meetings were well attended and a good deal of interest was shown.

A Program With the Broadest Possible Base

By January 1938, the board of trustees had increased to 7 men and 8 women, and the work to be done in the farm homes and yards was assigned a definite place as a "live-at-home" program. In that month the trustees assembled in their community club rooms to work out a program for the coming year.

It was decided first that the entire program must have the broadest possible base. For that reason it was held to include not only farm

owners, but also tenants, sharecroppers, and wage hands, and to take in both the farms and the homes.

Erosion was declared the chief problem, and it was decided to press ahead with terracing and cover crops. Out of this meeting came a decision to work on 17 separate activities during the year 1938. Wheat Community, however, is not concerned only with year-to-year goals. Although they are necessary if the work is to go forward efficiently, the farmers are firm believers in the necessity for long-term planning, too. For that reason each yearly goal has as a corollary a goal for 1950.

At the end of 1938, the Extension Service made another survey in conjunction with the trustees, and a report was made covering all the activities during the year. So much had been done on both farm and home that Wheat Community's planning was considered to have been successful.

So far as erosion was concerned, 200 more acres had been terraced, and, by decreasing the row crops 26 percent and the small grain crops 11 percent, a total decrease of 37 percent in soil-depleting crops had been made. The decrease in these two crops was absorbed by an increased acreage in clovers and permanent pasture, red clover showing the greatest gain. Several farmers had run contour furrows, and the forestry program had been carried further. Erosion control, however, also leads to the conservation of soil moisture. The Wheat farmers know that erosion means more than bare land and silted riverbeds, that it also means that water which should remain on their lands to supply their crops is being lost to them.

One Farmer and the Change in Land Use

A good example of how farmers are changing their methods of land use was provided in the case of one farmer who had produced more corn from 7 acres than he had previously produced from 14 to 16 acres. By using only half his land for the same crop he had been able to put the other half in cover crops which helped check erosion.

The effect of the increased acreage in hays and permanent pasture had been a significant one. The sheep had increased from 41 to 167, cattle, approximately the same. Sixty-eight head of well-bred heifers had been added and work stock showed an increase of 10 mares. There has been a sufficient increase in brood sows to supply home needs for meat.

The poultry situation supplied one of the most striking changes. Before 1938 it was in such poor shape that many farmers were unable to supply their own families with poultry products throughout the year. During 1938, 6 brooder houses, 10 laying houses, 9,300 chicks, and 6 new turkey flocks were added to the community. In both quality and quantity the chicken situation showed an increase of about 50 percent. Culling and flock management demonstrations were given.

Along with this improvement in the general poultry situation, wheat

farmers also have set up a cooperative for the grading and selling at a premium price of eggs produced in the community. An Extension marketing specialist has trained a local grader for this work. As a result, the farmers get 4 to 6 cents a dozen more for their eggs than they used to. Ten to twenty-two cases of these eggs are sold weekly to nearby packing houses.

Soil-building practices were carried out on 80 of 130 farms. Fifty-one tons of triple-superphosphate, and 843 tons of lime were distributed, and 1,000 acres of land improved either by terracing, reforestation, sowing to clover, or liming. No picture of this soil building would be complete without mention of the part played by the T. V. A. Through T. V. A.'s financial assistance, it was possible to place an assistant county agent in Roane County, and to supply new concentrated phosphate fertilizer for demonstration purposes. Without this help the program would not be so far advanced as it is. Similar assistance, it should be said, has been given the 63 counties lying within the drainage basin of the Tennessee River. Fifty-six are employing assistant county agents.

Outside of the direct farm and farmhouse work, the spirit of the new Wheat Community probably was best shown in 1938 by the holding of the Wheat Fair, since every farmer or nearly every farmer in the community exhibited something in this fair. Eighty-one people, mainly trustees and other farmers, worked cooperatively on this as well as on the regular program. Forty-one men worked together to build a show barn for livestock and poultry. Considering the size of the community, the Wheat Fair was a big and successful job in cooperative enterprise. Exhibits to the number of 1,751 were shown, with 7 communities participating and approximately 3,000 people attending.

The Essential of Progress: Majority Cooperation

In terms of county land-use planning, the experiment being carried on in the Wheat Community carried one note of counsel—that majority cooperation is essential. Of the 130 farm owners, 77 are active members and 90 percent, in one way or another, have contributed and are contributing to the success of the project. Nor is this cooperation restricted to farm owners. More than 50 percent of the tenants, sharecroppers, and wage-hands attended the monthly meetings in 1938, and had an active part and voice in what was done. Even the children of the farm families were encouraged to take an interest in what was going on.

Much remains to be done, of course, yet the work accomplished by the farmers in Wheat Community offers a hopeful sign to other communities. It seems to prove that with the united and determined effort of a majority of the farm people in the average community a lot can be done, and done quickly, to plan, develop, and put into effect a program of rural betterment. For what has been done in Wheat Community can be done in any average American farm community.

Plans and the Man

by CHARLES P. LOOMIS

THOSE plans that do not have the support of the people they affect are likely to result in failure or worse. History provides many cases in point. The once prolific Polynesians are dying out, as are other primitive peoples, rather than fit into the patterns imposed upon them by civilizations different from their own. The Boston Tea Party, the Sepoy Mutiny, the Boxer Rebellion, and many other incidents attest the futility of plans or practices neither created by nor supported by the men for whom they were intended. Now that, at least in the proposals of the Department of Agriculture, the American farmer is to assist in charting his own future through his local county planning committees, there should be less possibility of leaving the man out of agricultural plans than there has been in the past.

A substantial way to get man into his own plans is for him to become self-conscious about his numbers. When he does this he will not build schools, churches, and hospitals for 10,000 children and adults in places where the sociologists can tell him there will be only 7,500 a few years hence. He will not try to move as many people off over-populated land when the birth rate is very low as when it is very high. In fact, he will move no one unless he finds available areas of lower birth rates and better opportunities. He will realize that his adjustment will be one thing if the people are old and eligible for security payments, another if they are young and fertile; one thing if they are highly mobile, another if they would rather starve than move. For man to try to make plans for his use of land without taking stock of his numbers and their movement is like a rancher buying winter forage and feed with no idea of the livestock count on the summer ranges.

Not Even the Caesars Can Plan Alone

The democratic plan must be the fruit of group effort. It must be the fusion of the minds of the community. No one, none of the Caesars, modern or ancient, has been able to make effective plans alone. They must have their staffs of experts. Democracies also have the experts, and in addition they have the invaluable help of the common man in the planning. The farmer recognizes the weakness of the individual in planning when he says, "Two heads are better than one even if one is a cabbage head." One man trying to plan for our complicated world is infinitely worse than one man trying to stack bundled grain alone. When men plan together ideas begin to pop, everyone gets wiser. Planning or getting local groups to analyze themselves is a problem of organization, a problem with which the sociologist is eminently concerned.

After the community has developed its plan that plan must be put

into effect. If this is to be done by individual solicitation the executors of the plan may outnumber the people for whom the plan is designed. Such execution is like a tax which costs more to collect than it nets the government. Here again organization, the handle to be used by extension and action agencies, must be found or created. People learn and frequently perform better together than when alone. To reduce the matter to an extreme simplification, suppose the plan calls for a demonstration. Why should not the organizer arrange that 100 see 1 demonstration rather than having single families see 100 demonstrations? The Farm Credit Administration, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Forest Service, Soil Conservation Service, and other agencies have found that they must work with the group to be effective.

The self-conscious planning community will want its social agencies to function properly. If 75 percent of the present generation of children must leave the farm and it is clear that but 10 percent of them can be absorbed by the professions, the schools must train the others for different ways of life. If the schools fall down on this job, many a child may have to live a far harder life than he otherwise would. The community, when it plans, will want to take inventory of all its social institutions and agencies. Thus man, to go back to our theme, will get into the plan from the beginning of the planning process. Again, the sociologist's advice can aid in setting up standards for those methods whereby agencies can be made most effective, and in the avoidance of unnecessary duplication of functions in giving the farmer the services he desires.

Knowledge Is the First Step to Understanding

Both rich and poor must be taken into account in the plans. Rural people the world over take care of their unfortunate. The less it has been influenced by city ideas, the more likely the community will be to feel its obligation toward those who cannot help themselves. This is to say that the better the farmer knows his unfortunate neighbor, the less likely he is to damn him unjustly for being lazy or no-account because he doesn't want to work from sun-up to sun-down for 50 cents. Even in communities where there has been a serious divorcement of labor and employer, the farmer will want the plan to cover the poorer people. There is reason to believe that after he himself has had a hand in making plans involving such people he will not be quick to condemn the provision of needed assistance to them. The sociologist can give practical advice and assistance to planning committees concerning the most effective ways and means of getting the disadvantaged classes into the plans. Such counsel sometimes may be very important, for it may well be in some regions it will not be possible for the poor to be fully represented in the working out of plans.

All plans must have as their objective a more abundant life. The sociologist has developed ways and means of measuring partially the ex-

tent of life's abundance. He may be called upon to use his yardsticks to indicate levels of this abundance and to suggest means for betterment. He knows that raising income is not the one and only method of raising living levels, and that instruction in preparing meals in a pellagra-infected area may mean more to the families than a \$500 increase in income for each. He knows, too, that social life is an important element in the level of living just as are food, clothing, shelter, education, and religion.

The Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, which is prepared to bring to bear on county planning the viewpoints of the sociologist, the social psychologist, the cultural anthropologist, and the human geographer, has its own special services to offer. Some of these are described in the paragraphs that follow.

The Materials Out of Which Plans Can Be Built

County planning committees may obtain population analyses—specifically, data on general population trends for any number of decades back to and including 1850; farm population data for 1920, 1925, 1930, 1935; age composition; racial and nationality composition; birth and death rates, that is, natural increase; and prospective changes in the number and composition of residents. Some of these data are also available by minor civil divisions. Technicians will be able to furnish, from highway maps and county and community committees, maps showing the population in place within minor civil divisions. Data on family composition may be obtained from W. P. A., F. S. A., and school records. From data which can be made available from these two sources, county committees can learn which sections of the county have lost, gained, or remained stationary in population over any period of time during the last 80 years. They can learn, too, the population trends by types or classes of land for a county as a whole or by minor civil division, for all and for special age classes, as children of school age (calculated from age composition, mortality rates, and fertility ratios).

Also available are social organization analyses of: Number and size of community, town, and village groupings, and the number and kinds of services they render; institutions, location, and service areas—such as schools, churches, hospitals, libraries, recreation places, welfare offices; nationality, racial, religious, and other cultural groupings; farmers' organizations, cooperative and general; women's organizations; and youth organizations. All of these types of organizations should be studied in the field by the county and community committees, with such help as is needed and can be furnished by State and Federal agencies. Investigations in this field can vary from a mere cursory survey to as extensive analyses as are desired. For example, map location of institutions, agencies, and organizations may be made, and data compiled for each organization on its history and development, membership, and leadership.

Information on tenure and other facets of the class structure of the population can also be made available to county committees. These data, the greater part of which would be compiled in the field, include tenure and income data for individual counties, relief and Farm Security Administration data, data on race, nationality, and religious groups, and data on farm laborers.

Indices to the Way the People Live

Standards or levels of living analyses can be furnished to county committees, such analyses to include comparative data by counties, detailed data as to population groupings and land groupings that would be compiled in the county, through the use of an index furnished by technicians, and data concerning institutional and other services that can be assembled from material gathered in social organization analyses. These constitute a part of the standard of living of the rural people.

The division also will undertake to make studies of problems related to programs of various action agencies. Under the Triple-A program, studies of displacement due to mechanization and crop reduction, the composition and characteristics of participants and nonparticipants in the program, and reasons for participation or nonparticipation, will be available to county planning committees.

In connection with the work of the Soil Conservation Service, studies that should be useful to members of committees include those of families displaced by the land-purchase program; studies of family groupings and cultural composition of those living on eroded land; cultural traditions as factors in soil erosion and its control; and composition and characteristics of participants and nonparticipants in the program.

Available to county committees, too, are analyses of clients' records to determine causes and effects, success and failure of rehabilitation efforts; studies of resettlement communities; and special analyses of non-commercial farming and farm problem areas. All of these are related to the Farm Security Administration program.

Studies that can be furnished to county planning committees in connection with Forest Service activities include inquiries into the possibilities of developing farm-forest communities; living conditions of families on poor lands which should go into forests; and living conditions of farm families displaced by purchases of forests.

In the field of population research, county committees can obtain annual farm population estimates; data on composition, characteristics, distribution, and migration of rural population; results of studies of population pressure and of special studies on relation of population to natural resources; and information on causes and effects of rural-urban and farm-to-farm migration, and the selection of migrants.

The Structure and Functioning of Communities

Research on community and local organizations will make available to committees information on the development, structure and changes of typical rural communities, the development of subsistence homesteads and other resettlement communities, the role of local organizations and social participation in the community, the development and functions of leadership, and the implementing of action programs through community and local organization channels.

Analyses of census and other secondary data showing levels of living, an index of current changes in farm family standards of living, and information on farm family income and expenditures can be furnished.

Various phases of farm labor and tenancy research available are: Material on the replacement or shifts in farm labor due to mechanization and crop restriction, labor employment possibilities by agricultural regions, special aspects of the agricultural ladder, migrant laborers, incomes and levels of living of tenants and laborers as contrasted to owners, and the nature and development of agricultural classes.

Rehabilitation studies which should prove useful to county planning committees involve those of causes and effects of successes and failures of rural rehabilitation clients, and a special 11-county study of subsistence or noncommercial farming.

The Contributions of Social Psychology

In social psychology, materials that can be furnished to committees include results of studies of farmers' attitudes; studies of farmer public opinion; studies of public opinion-making agencies such as newspapers, farm journals, and the radio; studies of rural ideologies and philosophies; and studies of farmers' movements. Such work is conducted by the division in close collaboration with other units of the Government.

Studies of regional cultures available include: Studies of typical cultural areas—for instance, the Corn, Cotton, Wheat, Dairy, and Fruit Belts; study of cultural groups or islands; studies of acculturation, with special reference to urbanization, commercialization, and mechanization of rural areas.

The division also will undertake long-time or basic research on population, community and local organizations, standards or levels of living, farm labor and tenancy, rehabilitation studies, social psychology, and regional cultures.

In addition, it will carry on cooperative projects with colleges in any of the fields of research listed above insofar as funds are available. In carrying out such projects, the division will be able to make members of its staff available for technical planning, to assign personnel to field work, to provide financial and personnel assistance in tabulating data, and to assist in the joint preparation of research reports.

Raw Materials of Montana Policy

by NEIL W. JOHNSON

READY now to the hands of Montana farmers, and of technicians working with them, are indices to the future of dry-land farming in the plains area of the State. The result of the application of long-time prices to long-time production records on individual farms as they are now organized and operated, these data indicate what income may be expected from 22,000 farms in that area.

Nearly 4 out of every 10 of these farms can expect no more than \$300 to \$500 cash, year in and year out, to meet family needs. Figuring four persons to the farm family, this means from \$75 to \$125 annually or \$6 to \$10 per person per month to meet the needs for food, clothing, medical and dental care, education, recreation, and life insurance or other provision for an independent old age. In certain sections of the United States where farm produce contributes heavily to the family living this amount of available cash might be sufficient for the bare essentials of a satisfactory livelihood.

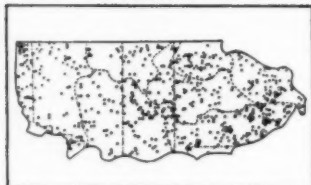
In the plains area of Montana, however, under semiarid conditions and systems of mechanized one-crop farming, the possibilities of farm gardens are limited, and a home supply of poultry and dairy products is frequently neglected. One farm per square mile of land surface would be considered very close settlement. The principal trading centers are 100 to 150 miles apart with shipping points spaced at distances of 10 to 30 miles along the railroads. Many farmers in this area are located 20 miles or more from a railroad or from a town having at least 250 inhabitants. Transportation costs are therefore relatively high. High schools are available only in the more populous centers, making it necessary for many farm families to maintain residence in town during the school year at added cost. These observations are made to emphasize the fact that farms that will yield no more than \$300 to \$500 annually may be considered inadequate to supply the essentials of livelihood under Montana conditions.

The Dilemma of Adjustment and 35,000 Persons

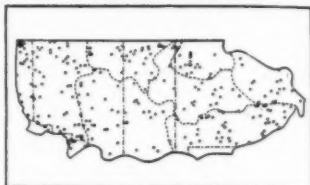
More than 8,500 farm families or 35,000 persons are now tied to farms with these meager production opportunities in central and eastern Montana. A goal of the Montana farm adjustment studies was to locate these farms and to determine the combination of factors responsible for their depressing outlook. Nearly everywhere the factor of inadequate farm size is an important item, but this is probably of major significance in northeastern Montana, where a third of the 2,600 wheat farms are

FARMS HAVING GROSS INCOME EXPECTANCIES OF \$1,000 OR LESS

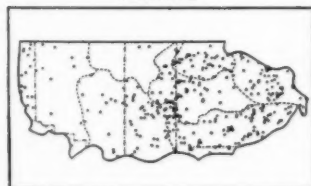
**ALL
FARMS**



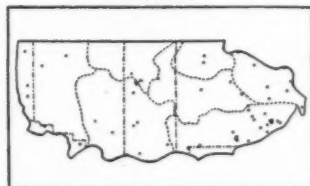
**LIVESTOCK FARMS
OR RANCHES**



**WHEAT
FARMS**



**COMBINATION
FARMS**



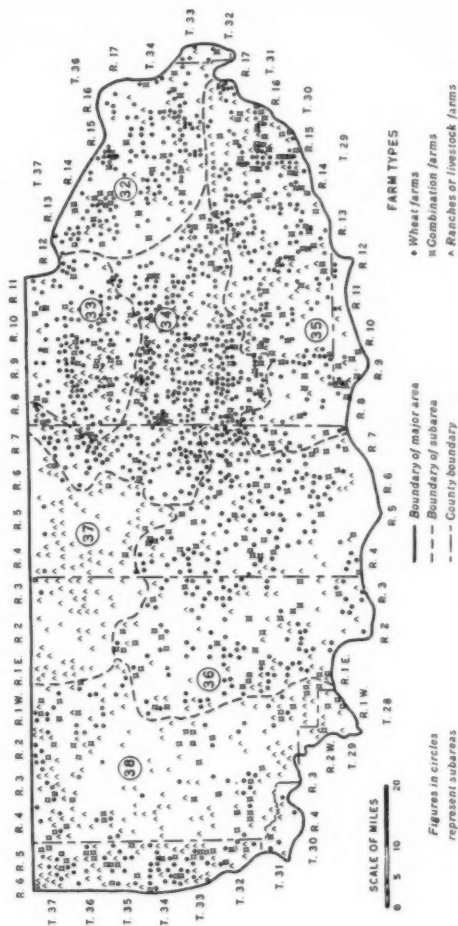
Few combination farms in Montana's Area VII fall in this low-income category, and wheat farms in the category tend to concentrate in particular subareas.

half sections or less. This is in an area where farms of twice this size are now considered about the minimum for the support of a farm family.

The stimulation of war-time prices for wheat, an unusual succession of years with abundant moisture, and the development of mechanized systems of farming all combined to encourage the extension of grain farming into areas suited only to the continuous production of range grasses. While wheat farming is still attempted on essentially range lands in nearly all sections of the plains area, the highest proportion of abandonment because of low yields or crop failure is occurring in portions of central and southeastern Montana where 60 percent of the wheat farms are estimated to have little if any chance of supporting a family.

The problem of readjustment in Montana is not an easy one. It runs the gamut from the task of stabilization of a few farms in a relatively good farming area to that of relocating the bulk of the farm families in entire communities. Readjustment can go forward on an assured basis only when grounded in a thorough understanding of the real nature of the maladjustments and their causes. To this end, the Montana farm adjustment study is making localized data available in 67 subareas com-

ALL FARMS BY TYPE, AREA VII MONTANA



prising the plains area of the State. These subareas group the farms into communities where problems in readjustment are somewhat similar. Conditions vary from those in which only 4 percent of the wheat farms may be considered submarginal to others in which it is estimated that as many as 92 percent are unable continuously to support families.

Programs of readjustment can be successfully accomplished only when farm families in the areas involved actively participate in the planning. Through the costly process of trial and error they have come to an appreciation of the possibilities and limitations of their environment. These data provide the basis for group discussions and action, through the medium of county agricultural planning, by farmers and agricultural leaders. The study is affording them the instruments for exploring the elements of an adjustment program and in planning the ways and means by which such a program might be effected.

With this in mind the Bureau of Agricultural Economics is preparing a multithed series of maps and charts which will make available in graphic form many of the data already described for each of the 67 local divisions of the plains area of Montana. The charts accompanying this article are taken from this series, which will supplement the series of bulletins resulting from this study now being issued by the Montana Agricultural Experiment Station. Bulletin 367, Study of Area VII: Its Past, Present, and Future, dealing largely with Hill, Liberty, and Toole Counties in north-central Montana is now available for distribution while a similar study for Area IV (Daniels, Sheridan, Roosevelt, and eastern Valley counties) is in process of publication.

Contributors to This Issue

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Farm Labor Here and Abroad

by CHARLES L. STEWART

EFFORTS of other countries to improve the situation of farm laborer families have a claim to attention in this country. This is not merely because farm laborers and their families are numerous, or even because they are to be regarded as prospective or actual parents of still larger proportions of the population. It is also because levels of incomes, expenditures, and savings among farm laborers have symptomatic relation to, and influence upon, levels of the same type among farm tenants and owner-operators.

Earnest efforts have been and are being made to keep agricultural laborers exempt from the administrative procedures by which the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act is being enforced on behalf of laborers in many non-agricultural fields.¹ Before assuming that nationally defined fair labor standards may never have a place in American agriculture, it may be well to examine the course of events to date in two countries of Europe—one fascist, one nonfascist—where active efforts to assure higher standards for farm workers have been made.

Problems of agricultural laborers in a large number of countries were brought to a focus by the permanent agricultural committee of the International Labor Office at Geneva in February 1938. Protection of child labor in agriculture, vacations with pay in agriculture, and the technical study of hours of work in agriculture were three of the four items to which attention was devoted. The other item was entitled "Problems of Agricultural Labor and Their Relative Importance." To some extent the influence of this subject, the first on the agenda, was felt upon all of the other items. Reports on this subject were filed for 20 countries, of which 12 were European. Certain reports submitted to the permanent committee, notably those of France and Italy, have been drawn upon fully in the present summary.

A brief summary of the pertinent programs in France and Italy will serve to show how those countries have proceeded in an attempt to bring about comprehensive reform in agriculture at the level of agricultural labor.

The Farm Labor Reform Approach in France

In France the scope of reform in behalf of agricultural labor can be outlined in terms of seven programs. These are: Allowance to families for children; employee-employer agreements for collective application;

¹ "Area of production" as interpreted for use in Section 7 (c) and in Section 13 (A) (10) of the Fair Labor Standards Act (Congressional Record, June 23, 1939, p. 10,980) continues to be a principal storm center in the effort to exempt agriculture.

housing standards; insurance against accident, invalidity, etc.; vacations with pay; wage minima; work-time limitations. Each of these is summarized in the paragraphs that follow.

Family Allowances.—Allowances to families with children were begun in France under the act of July 14, 1913. Assistance allowances, known as allowances to large families, were made to any persons who may have more than three children. Amounts vary, but usually range between 270 and 300 francs yearly for each child. Under the act of July 22, 1933, a system of national grants to encourage large families was inaugurated to apply to such families as are not taxable under the general-revenue tax, payable as follows: 120 francs for the third child, 360 for the fourth, and 540 for the remainder. Farm families come partly under the 1913 law and partly under that of 1933. In addition, the French family may also be assisted by means of a family allowance granted to wage earners under the act of March 11, 1932. Under this act provision of family allowances became compulsory. Employers must become affiliated with compensatory associations organized by employers to divide among themselves the charges resulting from family allowance payments. Applied for 4 years with little reference to agriculture, extension to agriculture came under the act of August 5, 1936. A keen debate had developed between those who wished to apply the law according to the principles of agricultural cooperation, and those who preferred a noncooperative approach. Fund associations on both patterns are allowed in agriculture under the present legislative set-up.

Employee-employer agreements.—A collective agreement between employers and employees has been developed in each part of France where separate groups have been organized. Working conditions and compensation rates have been covered in these agreements.

Housing standards.—In France the inquiry of 1929 disclosed that 19 percent of the workers were housed in dwellings that originally were not intended for habitation. An act of July 21, 1929, undertook to regulate rural housing. More recent legislation has undertaken to make housing regulations more effective.

Insurance systems.—Insurance against labor accidents in agriculture in France has been operative since December 15, 1922, carrying into effect legislation begun for industry and commerce as early as 1898. The adaptation of the scheme of social insurance to agriculture in France, begun under the act of April 5, 1928, has not yet been finished. Agricultural workers are often paid partly in land, or in farm products, as a result of which cash wages stand only in a slight proportion. The decree of October 30, 1935, introduced changes designed to adapt the scheme to the particular conditions surrounding the agricultural profession. The difference is made between men, on the one hand, and women and children under 16 years, on the other. Coverage has been made to include invalidism as well as other hazards.

Vacations with pay.—The French Superior Labor Council on November 22, 1935, adopted a resolution recognizing the right of the worker to an annual vacation with pay, and fixed the length of this recess for agricultural workers of both sexes at 6 days for each year's service in the same undertaking. In order to acquire the right to an annual vacation, an agricultural laborer working for an employer under an oral or written contract of employment, or under a contract of apprenticeship, must have worked in the same undertaking for a continuous period of at least 6 months. The vacations of agricultural workers may be taken at any time of the year, except during the especially busy seasons; vacations of 24 hours may be granted in special circumstances. The annual leave of agricultural workers, unlike that of workers in commerce, industry, and the liberal professions, may be divided by mutual consent between the parties, but half of the total vacation must be taken continuously. In the case of a vacation of more than 24 hours, the order of departure must reach the worker at least 8 days before the date fixed for the beginning of the vacation. Pay during their vacation is due at the average daily rate of wages earned in the undertaking, all allowances and bonuses included. Payments in kind which the worker does not receive during his holiday must be converted into money. The worker may not take paid employment during his vacation.

Wage minima.—In France no legislation exists to regulate minimum wages in agriculture. Nevertheless, the actual minimum wage that is paid is influenced by a schedule of wages, which the prefects periodically propose with a view to serving as a basis of calculation for wages due in cases of labor accident. A number of other countries have gone much further than France in respect to wage regulation by statute.

Work-time limitations.—In 1919, after the 8-hour law in industry and commerce was passed in France, the question arose whether this legislation could be extended to agriculture. A mixed advisory committee set up by the minister of agriculture concluded that, in view of the differences of conditions of work in industry and agriculture, it was impossible to arrive in agriculture at national legislation having a character analogous to legislation in industry. In February 1938 the French Senate received, after passage by the Chamber of Deputies, a draft bill on the limitation of the length of the working day and the granting of weekly rest days. Provision was made for a maximum yearly total of hours of 2,400 for 300 working days, with an obligatory rest day which, on principle, should fall on Sunday. Regulation of hours in agricultural work, however, is effected primarily under collective rules and agreements, which are found mainly in three departments—Seine, Oise, and Marne. Through these agreements the yearly maximum is 2,800 hours and the daily maximum 10 hours in 7 months, 9 hours in 2 months, and 8 hours in 3 months.

In Italy at least eight factors must be taken into account in order to

obtain anything like a comprehensive view of the steps taken in behalf of agricultural laborers. These are: Allowances to families with children; employee-employer agreements for collective application; insurance against accident, invalidity, unemployment, sickness, etc.; placement service; adjusting the labor-hiring quota of owner to productive capacity of his land; vocational training; wage minima; work-time limitations. Brief descriptions of these are given herewith.

Family allowances.—As in France, the amount of allowance received per child increases with the number of children in the worker's family.

Employee-employer agreement.—Under section 8 of the Royal Decree of May 6, 1928, "A collective contract of employment may not be published unless it contains definite provisions respecting (1) disciplinary regulations, (2) probationary period, (3) rate of remuneration, (4) method of payment, hours of work, weekly rest and (in case of undertakings having continuous processes) annual vacations with pay, termination of the employment by the discharge or death of the worker, the transfer of the undertaking, provision for the worker in case of sickness, and the enlistment of the worker in the volunteer militia for national defense." Under the first nation-wide collective agreement, every worker receives a share in the earnings of the undertakings in which he is employed. The share in profits, however, corresponds to an equal share in expenses.

Tuberculosis Insurance of Worker and Small Farmer

Insurance schemes.—Forms of assistance available to the agricultural population include insurance against accident, invalidity, old age, tuberculosis, general sickness; for female workers, maternity insurance; and, for unskilled and certain of the skilled agricultural workers, unemployment insurance. Special notice may be taken of tuberculosis insurance, which not only covers over 3 million agricultural workers, as such, but also some 3 million operators of small farms. Under general sickness insurance, mutual sick benefit funds are contributed from employers and workers. Requirements of conventional insurance principles in this field apparently have given way to social considerations, as a result of which prevention, cure, and indemnification of sickness must be affected continuously. Maternity insurance applies to any woman of 15 to 50 working for pay and gives her the right to financial, hygienic, and sanitary assistance. Women in families operating small farms are also included.

Placement service.—Both colonization and interprovincial migration is provided for agricultural workers.

Adjusting labor-hiring minima.—The employment of a minimum number of workers is required of each owner according to the rated productive capacity of his land. To use the language of a recent report, the social function of property, on the one hand, and social action for

the abolition of unemployment, on the other, strengthen one another mutually on the plane of social utility. Requirement that a minimum number of workers be employed by each farm shows how important a place has been assigned to the union movement and the collective contract in Italy. The union helps to determine how many of its own members shall be employed on the farm. In Italy the struggle against agricultural unemployment thus tends to be identified with the struggle for an increase in the productivity of the soil.

Vacations with pay.—Under the Labor Charter of April 21, 1937, Italian workers engaged in year-round undertakings are entitled to an annual vacation with pay after 1 year's continuous service. The application of the principle is regulated in agriculture, as elsewhere, by collective agreement. Milkers, cattle tenders, shepherds, and other workers engaged in attending to animals, and hence unable to take a regular weekly holiday, usually receive a longer annual vacation. The date of vacation is fixed by the employer to suit the needs of the undertaking. It never falls during the busy seasons of spring and summer, nor the last part of the silkworm-breeding period, the corn harvest, the planting periods, nor in the dairy-farming zones in the cheese-making period in summer.

Vocational training.—The Fascist Confederation of Agricultural Workers has prepared a large program aimed at the development and continual improvement of technical training for all classes of agricultural workers represented in it.

Furtherance of Uniformity in Collective Agreements

Wage minima.—While wage regulation under collective agreements had developed in Italy prior to the World War, an act of March 1930 set up a national council, a duty of which was to further uniformity in collective agreements. The council was divided into sections, corresponding to the occupational confederations. The agricultural section of the council has dealt with such matters as fixing wages for workers occupied in soil-improvement work and applying principles of share farming. The corporations that were actually set up under the act of February 1934 deal with cereals, sugar beets, animal production, and, while they have concentrated on questions of production, improvement in quality, and others of similar character, they also have touched upon labor questions.

Work-time limitations.—Italian law provides that the average working day in agriculture shall, in principle, be 8 hours, or, in annual equivalent, 2,400 hours in 300 days. This regulation holds for each month of the year in a portion of Lombardy, but it varies in a number of other provinces. In one portion of Emilia 3 months of the year have 10-hour limits, 1 month a 9-hour limit, 4 months 8-hour limits, 1 month 7-hour limits, and 3 months 6-hour limits.

Italy is a country with an abundant agricultural labor supply and is

situated so far south that long interruptions at midday are indispensable. The country's situation thus suggests a contrast with the usual European picture. The longest working day goes along with the highest total number of annual hours, and is not found in most northern countries where the daylight is longer and the growing season shorter. The advanced technique of these northerly regions seems to be more than a counterbalance to the natural conditions.

The Outlook for Farm Labor Standards Here

Examination of the results of scientific efforts to bring together information on such subjects as hours of work in agriculture, wage regulations of agriculture, and vacations with pay in agriculture, inevitably raises the question whether the agricultural aspects of these problems are not likely to come more and more to the front in New World countries such as the United States. The existence of an unlimited and unregulated working day in agriculture seems less than rational at a time in which more and more of the public has been conscious of the physical harm resulting from very long hours of work, and of the increase in efficiency of human labor that may be achieved by a shorter but sensibly organized working day. Legislation or collective agreements in at least 15 countries have shown regulation of hours to be practicable. In these countries a farm laborer knows in advance how many hours of his labor he must give in return for wages received.

In like manner it is suggested that nations interested in having the health and technical abilities of their agricultural workers improved are not likely to overlook the possibility of encouraging annual vacations. Public restrictions upon the use of child labor and protective measures for victims of accidents, and from other circumstances affecting physical fitness for labor, may be regarded as sound objectives.

In a country with as great a range of conditions as exists in the United States, however, it becomes a question as to how best to promote the welfare of occupational groups in agriculture along the lines mentioned. One policy is to "black out" from the application of the Fair Labor Standards Act, workmen's compensation laws, and similar legislation, all of agriculture, plus twilight zones of farm-related activities between the farm and terminal establishments. Another policy might seek social control on some acceptable basis both in the twilight zone and in undisputed agricultural territory.

In the last 30 years hired labor has cost farmers in the United States nearly 30 billion dollars.² Cash wage payments to farm hands have made

² *Income Parity for Agriculture, Part II. Expenses of Agricultural Production, Section I, The Cost of Hired Farm Labor, 1909-38* (U. S. Department of Agriculture, April 1939). Table 2 in this report is to be compared with table 1, *Trends in Employment in Agriculture, 1909-36* (National Research Project, Works Progress Administration, November 1938).

up 73 percent of the total. The number of employed farm laborers stood between $2\frac{3}{4}$ and 3 million during the period 1909-30, dropped to between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{3}{4}$ in 1931, to between $2\frac{1}{4}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$, 1932-36, and in 1937 and 1938 still hovered around $2\frac{1}{2}$ million. About two-thirds of these lived on the farm. At the same time the total number of family workers declined from an average of $9\frac{1}{2}$ million persons in 1909 to $8\frac{1}{2}$ million 30 years later. Outnumbered about 4 to 1 by family workers, the hired workers were found on the farms of only 42 percent of all farmers. It is not difficult, therefore, to understand why efforts to elevate the living standards of hired laborers have not easily won majority support from persons engaged in American agriculture. Anything tending to raise the hired labor bill, whether as paid in cash or in other ways, should be expected to gain favor very slowly, if at all, until farm earnings are substantially increased. In addition it is to be noted that there is little sense of solidarity between nonagricultural laborers and the hired laborers of agriculture.

Questions to Which the Future Must Have Answers

To what extent can the well-being of family laborers and hired laborers in the United States be safeguarded without organizations of employers and employees, such as have been used in some other countries? By allowances for children in wage-earning farm families, by insuring farm laborers and members of their families against accidents, sickness, and invalidism by systematic provisions for vacations, work-time limitations, and vocational training for agricultural laborers, can the Government take a hand directly? Or must collective agreements between employees and employers be the main dependence?

The increased use of mechanical equipment has modified many of the problems of agricultural labor in nearly all parts of the United States. This may give more, rather than less, reason why organized agriculture and public agencies may examine with profit some of the methods used in other countries to safeguard the level of living of farm laborers and the members of their families.

It is consistent with European experience to assume that the technique of approach in agriculture should be markedly different from that in industry and commerce. The fact that the United States places much more emphasis in its agriculture upon capital contribution by nearly all engaged in it, doubtless gives additional reasons why the approach found in the Fair Labor Standards Act is not such as is suitable in American agriculture. Three major considerations need to be kept in mind in any consideration of the Act in relation to agricultural labor.

In the first place, the standards established are too lacking in adjustment to differences in parts of the country arising from differences in the character of farm production, differences in latitude with their effects upon the length of the daylight period, and from other variations.

Then, too, an attempt to safeguard American agricultural workers by reference merely to work-time limitations and a minimum wage probably would not be comprehensive enough. There is more need for family allowances, both in the families of agricultural workers and of farmers of the lower-income group, than there is for a minimum wage. A tendency to impose a minimum wage probably would be met with a shift from the laborer type of contract to the cropper type, where payment would be received as a percentage of the product or of the value of the product. Family allowances, however, have a warrant in the interest of the children themselves and by way of compensation to rural families for keeping up the national growth of population. There is need also in rural territory for more far-reaching insurance systems designed not only to assure a more concerted attack against tuberculosis, but also to provide general sick benefits and maternal care, objectives consistent both with social security and medical programs.

Reaping the Fruit of Present Experience

Finally, careful study should be made of experience in the application of the fair labor standards, social security, and other measures to the population engaged in industry and commerce, so that when an agricultural program along these lines is outlined it will avoid such mistakes as inevitably occur during the experimental period.

In the long-time interest of farm workers and their families it may be best to defer action along some of these lines while experiments are proceeding in behalf of the nonagricultural population. Such deferment, however, should not be tantamount to a determination to keep agriculture perpetually outside of the pale of such programs. It is possible, too, that farm-related industrial activities between the farm and terminal establishments, at least those between the farm and local storage establishments, when the product's storage period does not exceed a small part of the year, should be excluded, along with agriculture, during the formative or experimental period.

Provisions that fair labor standards and other such laws shall not yet apply to agriculture and farm-related cooperative and noncooperative activities are timely. They may or may not prove to be forerunners of efforts to produce better eventual safeguards for agricultural labor. In the absence of widespread collective agreements on the pattern of several European countries, it would be advisable for public agencies in the United States to develop specific outlines of alternative programs. For American agricultural labor to be organized either from within or without may continue to be difficult. One of the effects of widespread farm-union movement would be to place family labor and hired labor at odds with one another. A legislative program safeguarding the interest of agricultural labor probably would obviate difficulties and shorten the delay.



Books

THE GRAPES OF WRATH. John Steinbeck. Viking Press. New York, 1939.

When the Joads left Oklahoma for the golden lands beyond the San Bernardino Mountains, they did not leave in despair or without a plan for the future. They were not launching on a sea they had not tried to chart. True, Grandpa Joad withered quickly away, just as a plant would when it had been torn from its roots, but, after all, Grandpa was the past. He was the symbol of any older generation severed from its place of growing and feeling. The rest of the family suffered a wound deep in their inmost beings when they saw their homeplace was to bow inevitably before the march of technology. But they were not hurt beyond curing. Indeed, they accepted this inevitable and were eager, Ma for the "white house," Pa for the richer earth, Al for the excitement of new girls and new gadgets. They turned westward in hope, not in futility.

This seems to me to be one of the most accurately stated of Mr. Steinbeck's many truths in *The Grapes of Wrath*. And it seems to me, too, that it constitutes for us an omen of hope for the future and a warning to us that the Nation cannot afford to let that hope of the Joads die. For that matter, perhaps that hope cannot die; it may be, instead, that if it does not find something to fasten on, something tangible to build toward, then the hope itself will turn to other ways of life that promise fulfillment.

For the very brief reference to the Joad who fought in the Revolution assumes a parallel not at all far-fetched between the modern Joads and the streaming peoples who struck first on our Atlantic coast and then progressively onward and inward across the continent. Those streams must have been animated by the same hope that stirred in the breasts of the Joads when they turned their cut-down jalopy onto Highway 66 and looked to the west. Those earlier hordes found a land that matched their hope, and perhaps it is just here that we can locate the secret source of the gigantic energy that transformed a motley aggregate of seaboard sovereignties into a great nation in little more than a century.

It would be futile, even if appropriate, to enter here into a discussion of the literary qualities of "*The Grapes of Wrath*," just as by this time it would be a waste of words to outline the story.

Nevertheless, there is one passage that is illustrative of a certain quality of greatness in Mr. Steinbeck, whether it be regarded as the greatness of an artist or of a pamphleteer. This passage is his chapter upon a mud-

turtle's progress across the great concrete plain of a highway. The turtle's unhurried patience, victorious alike over reckless driver and destructive driver, somehow connects the story of the Joads, on the one hand, with the infinite patience and infinite complexity of the natural processes that have produced mankind and, on the other, with the centuries-old struggle of men to throw off the bonds of manifold tyrants and tyrannies. If such writing as this is propaganda, then it is propaganda on behalf of the essential verities of humanity.

Already the book has become a part of the national consciousness. In our day the novelist has become the singer of songs, the truth-teller, and myth-maker. If it is true that he who makes a nation's songs is more potent than he who sits in high places, then Mr. Steinbeck has become an even more powerful social than literary force. Thus, I think everyone who is concerned with the political, social, and economic processes can learn a lot from him. Aside from what it says, the appearance and success of "The Grapes of Wrath" are a phenomenon that deserves study.

This is not the place either for a discussion of that kind or for attempts to explain the complex of events and forces that preceded, some would say "caused," the migration to the coast. Nor is this the place to set down my own conclusions as to the "causes" of the agricultural situation in the great valley of California, its need for hundreds of thousands of hand laborers for short periods, the low wages there, the high cost of land and irrigation water, the predominance of large farms, the low prices of products, and the subjection to stress and strain of money-lenders, land-owners, farm laborers, and State and local governments. Still less is this an appropriate place to consider the steps that might appropriately be taken by the people and government of the State to help the great army of newcomers to find some measure of happiness and security.

What the book says is my major concern here, and I have tried to tell briefly above what it says to me: That the mainspring of the powerful drive to American nationhood as we know it today lay in the hearts and souls of a people who found a chance to do and act, that this hope and this opportunity are our great national asset, and that we must find ways to keep both the hope and the opportunity alive.

If the physical frontier of the West is gone, that is of no importance so long as a frontier of the spirit exists. It makes no difference what form the opportunity takes, so long as the hope can find it and shape it. It is when hope recoils upon itself, when it is thrown back upon itself until the people feel themselves particles at the mercy of forces incomprehensible to them, that we court peril. If we can give back to the citizen his dignity as an individual and as a member of a group, if we can make him feel that he is grappling to some good purpose with the forces of economics and politics, then we will have gone a long way toward giving him fulfillment. If he can function to some discernible

purpose, then it is not necessary that he become a prince or princeling; he will have the value to himself that is the best guarantee of greatness in individual or nation.—HOWARD R. TOLLEY.

FACTORIES IN THE FIELD, THE STORY OF MIGRATORY FARM LABOR IN CALIFORNIA. Carey McWilliams. \$2.50. Little, Brown & Co. 334 pp. 1939.

Widespread interest in the agriculture of California has been aroused in recent years. The great agricultural strikes of 1933, the successive waves of migration into California in the 1930's from the stricken Southern Plains, the weedlike growth of fascist movements and the widespread violation of civil liberties, and, most important perhaps, the notable work of the California novelist, John Steinbeck, have stimulated this interest.

Carey McWilliams has written an informal history of agricultural labor in California which brings together in a single volume a wealth of material and information which has previously been available only in widely scattered sources, difficult of access to the general reader. The interested reader now has the whole story, told with a vividness which compels attention, and with such evident grounding in the entire range of contemporary materials, official publications, and other sources, that the harsh and almost unbelievable story rings true.

In his introduction Mr. McWilliams says:

"To understand why the valleys (of California) are made up of large feudal empires; to know why it is that farming has been replaced by industrialized agriculture, the farm by the farm factory; to realize what is back of the terror and violence which breaks out periodically in the farm valleys, it is necessary to know something of the social history of California. It is this history which the latter-day commentators, busy recording impressions and giving vent to their indignation, have largely ignored. It is, in many respects, a melodramatic history, a story of theft, fraud, violence, and exploitation. It completely belies the sense of peace and lassitude that seems to hover over rural California."

The author lives up to this promise and unrolls a story of land-grabbing and fraud, of forceful expropriation of small farmers, of exploitation in turn of Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Hindu, Mexican, and, finally, in the current decade, of white family labor. The exploitation of labor has not been accomplished without resistance, rioting, and bloodshed. Behind the spectacular strikes of the 1930's, with the attendant mobilization of vigilantes, strikebreakers, National Guardsmen, State police, Legionnaires in the guise of embattled farmers—behind this and behind the grinding poverty of the jungles stretches a record back almost to the gold-rush times of bindle-stiffs and rag-heads, of Japs and Chinks and Greasers, moving up and down the Dirty Plate Route with the crops, then disappearing into city slums until another harvest time should roll around. Savage repression has been the answer to protests against wages and

working conditions, as in the Wheatland riot of 1913, or in the reception accorded to Kelley's Army by the authorities in Sacramento the year following.

Mr. McWilliams discusses the State land settlements at Durham and Delhi, and the now almost forgotten experiments at Kaweah and Fort Romie. Quite correctly he analyzes the causes giving rise to the alleged "failure" of the two State land settlements, and points out the weakness of the argument that this has proved the folly of State planning and social control. The chapters discussing the participation of the I. W. W., the Trade Union Unity League, and finally the C. I. O. in the organization and leadership of agricultural labor are particularly good. The difficulties inherent in the organization of migratory workers, and the special organizational techniques that have evolved are fully discussed. Likewise, Mr. McWilliams does a particularly good job in describing the techniques employed by the banking, processing, and large operating interests in answer to the threat of unionization.

The thesis of the book is that the privately owned, large-scale, intensive, and highly specialized farming which characterizes the agricultural economy of California could only have developed, and can only survive, by the exploitation of cheap labor. Conscious and deliberate steps have been taken by California growers since the early 80's to insure the continued availability of abundant labor. Wages have been kept low by the devices of attracting more workers than could be provided jobs, by fostering antagonism between different racial groups, and repression of any protest movements that arose, Mr. McWilliams shows.

But this era of exploitation has about ended. In the author's words:

"With the arrival of the dust-bowl refugees, a cycle of exploitation had been brought to a close. These despised 'Okies' and 'Texicans' were not another minority alien racial group (although they were treated as such) but American citizens familiar with the usages of democracy . . . A day of reckoning approaches for the California farm industrialists. The jig, in other words, is about up."

Mr. McWilliams indicates briefly the nature of those adjustments which he believes necessary to the solution of the farm-labor problem in California. This solution "involves the substitution of collective agriculture for the present monopolistically owned and controlled system." Next steps that should be taken are the organization of workers, the inauguration of worker-controlled hiring halls for the regulation of employment, the expansion of the migratory camps and the development of subsistence homesteads. But final solution rests upon abolition of the present system of ownership, and the substitution of collective control. Breaking up of the large holdings into family-operated holdings is not advisable—to do this would be to lose the present advantages of scope, efficiency, and organization. Thus Mr. McWilliams.

Not all readers will agree with the author's conclusion that the jig

is up for the farm industrialists, nor with the adjustments he proposes. But the intolerable present conditions in California are coming more and more to public attention, and the conviction is growing that some substantial reform is necessary. Professional workers in agriculture should weigh Mr. McWilliams' reasoning and his suggestions carefully. That the latter do violence to many of the traditional precepts currently accepted, is in itself nowise a refutation of the author's case. Rather, that this book should have been written by a lawyer, who is currently serving as Commissioner of Immigration and Housing in the State Government of California, is a reflection upon the general nature of the interest of professional agricultural workers, up to the current period, in the economy of rural California.—ARTHUR W. STUART.

AFTER FREEDOM: A CULTURAL STUDY IN THE DEEP SOUTH. *Hortense Powdermaker*. \$3.00. *The Viking Press*. New York. 1939.

Presented here is the story of Negro and white relationships, group and individual, in a county-seat town in Mississippi.

"This study," says the author, "was conceived as an experiment; to apply to a segment of contemporary American society the training and methods of a cultural anthropologist and whatever perspective had been gained through field work in civilizations other than our own." It is a conscious effort to use the methods and skill of the anthropologist to make our own civilization intelligible to us. To the credit of anthropology, it should be noted that the result of the effort is a worthwhile contribution to wider understanding of problems of race as found in the Deep South.

"Out of the ceaseless interaction of the present and past, Negro and white, group and individual, have arisen many practical problems," the writer notes. "I have not attempted to suggest solutions, but hope that to those engaged in practical applications some of the material presented may be of use."

Perhaps, after all, it is this approach to the problem that makes *After Freedom* so refreshing to the reader. No attempt is made to condemn or to praise either whites or Negroes. Facts, not nostrums, are offered. No attempt is made to put forward a panacea for curing maladjustments in relations between the races. Panaceas offered by writers and speakers who fail to take into account the roots from which maladjustments spring in an area like Cottonville, Miss., are too often apt to be mere wind in the trees, lacking substance and form, and serving merely to irritate already bad conditions. Facts, however, are useful, and can point the way to intelligent changes.

Cottonville is the name chosen here for the Mississippi town where the study was made; the name is fictitious. Apparently this was judged necessary because of the frankness with which a community and cultural analysis is presented. Without effort to castigate or condemn, the study

presents a picture of race relations in a Southern agricultural community that is pretty close to being typical of similar communities throughout the region. That the reader finds himself appalled by the conditions presented, and may feel strongly that here is a field for vitally necessary action in a democracy is a natural outgrowth of this kind of presentation, not the result of a propagandized outlook in the book itself.

Beginning with the background and history of the people of Mississippi, and giving by the way an excellent picture of a hundred such towns through the Cotton Belt, the author launches her study of the people, Negro and white; of their cultures, traditions, and institutions. The whites here are found to be almost all native-born, and most of them from families that have been in the South for generations. As has been found by many other students in other areas, the white population falls roughly into three classes—the aristocracy, the middle class, and the poor whites. Of these three, the author concludes, the middle class is the one which has improved its position since the Civil War, and has now all but obliterated the formerly opulent aristocracy. Cotton is still the mainstay of support. Few married women hold paid positions. Many young people are moving to northern cities. Evidence is offered of an apparent lessening of the influence of the church upon youth. The author devotes several pages to a discussion of the poor whites, finds that they are the principal source of racial friction, and that they resent both the upper-class whites and the Negroes. "One strength," the writer concludes, "the poor whites do have: they can vote." On this point, if it is true, Cottonville is not likely to be typical of many Southern areas, since poll tax disfranchises this group effectively in many communities.

White attitudes toward the Negro occupy an important place in the study, as do Negro attitudes toward whites. The extremely paternalistic and repressive attitude of the whites is pictured not only in broad terms of the individual and society, but of institutions, such as schools, churches, and community mores. Some evidence is offered of a growing discontent of the Negroes with the lack of educational, economic, and social opportunities available to them under the present system, although, regrettably, this appears to take the form largely of simply migrating from South to North—an experience that many find bitterly disappointing, for racial discrimination is by no means confined to the South.

The author's findings with relation to the attitudes of Negroes toward white people in the community are likely to open many eyes about this problem of a "simple and unassuming people."—BERT JOHNSON.

{✓ *For your attention*

ARIZONA'S FARM LABORERS. E. D. Tetreau. *Ariz. Exp. Sta. Bull.* 163. Tucson, Arizona. May 1939.

In April 1936 this study was made of 1,500 farm laborers' households located in the Upper Gila, Salt River, Yuma-Gila, and Casa Grande Valleys.

The data gathered showed that Arizona's farm-labor population had the characteristics needed for reasonable success in its occupation; households were located within 20 minutes of the field, near other laborer households, and public roads; the resident labor supply was found to be numerically adequate for the hired labor requirements of irrigated farms for the periods January-April and May-August of each year; from September through December, the supply is not adequate, and many additional workers are brought in.

MANAGEMENT OF FARM WOODLANDS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE. K. E. Barraclough. *New Hampshire Extension Bulletin* 55. Durham, N. H. December 1938.

The physical characteristics of New Hampshire, Mr. Barraclough explains, are such that much of its area is better suited for growing forests than for any other purpose. The original forested area of the State was reduced by pioneers and early settlers, but with changing social and economic conditions has come a realization that much cleared land was unfit for agriculture, and a forested condition has gradually returned. At present over three-fourths of the land is forested. Farmers manage 36 percent of the land in the State, of which 60 percent is forested; in 1935 income from the sale of forest products exceeded that from any other single source.

REFERENCES ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FRONTIER IN AMERICAN HISTORY. E. E. Edwards. *U. S. D. A. Library. Bibliographical Contribution No. 25* (ed. 2). Washington, D. C. April 1939.

As indicated by the title, this bibliography is devoted primarily to citations of articles and books that constitute specific considerations of the significance of the frontier in American history. In essence, it is a summarization of the more important interpretive writings which proceeded or stemmed from Prof. Frederick Jackson Turner's famous essay on the subject.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF FEDERAL RANGE LANDS. Marion Clawson. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* LIII (3) 435-53. Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, Mass. May 1939.

Specific policies suggested by the author for administration of public range lands include the following:

(1) To protect land resources on public and private land most effectively, the concept of commensurability should be retained as a basis for granting permits, but should be modified so that over-grazing may be stopped.

(2) The Forest Service and the Division of Grazing should proclaim stability or permanency of permits as one of their goals as a force contributing to the prosperity of range users.

(3) Several regulations adopted in the past might well be abandoned as no longer useful, or as imposing an unnecessary burden on the permittee—elimination of the dependency zone, and any residence and land ownership requirements.

(4) In order to eliminate or reduce inequality between permittees and nonpermittees as groups, rentals and charges on all classes of land should be revised so that they do not exceed the capitalizable value of the forage on any type of range land, and so that grazing fees on public ranges approach the capitalizable income from their use.

MIGRANT FAMILIES. *J. N. Webb and Malcolm Brown. Research Monograph XVIII, W. P. A. Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office. 1938.*

This is a report on the characteristics and activities of the depression migrant families receiving relief from the transient program of the F. E. R. A. The findings bring out that the transient relief problem is essentially an urban-industrial problem which in recent years has been complicated by migration of destitute drought refugees; and in spite of the belief that depression migration is a one-way movement in which certain States are exclusively contributors while other States are exclusively recipients, it is revealed that migration of the families studied involved, as a rule, a more or less balanced interchange between the States.

The solution of the transient problem, the authors conclude, appears to lie in the direction of making the regular work-relief and general-relief programs accessible to nonresidents by means of reducing or eliminating State settlement requirements which artificially create the "transient" as a separate category. Transiency is a national problem, and Federal leadership in solving it is necessary.

FARM PRACTICES AND MANAGEMENT IN CENTRAL PENNSYLVANIA. *J. E. McCord. Pa. State College Bulletin 379. State College, Pa. May 1939.*

The object of the study, reported upon in this bulletin, was to secure specific information in Centre Co., Pa., on cultural and feeding practices, crops, livestock, crop rotations, trends in type of farming, and costs of main enterprises. Data were also secured on land tenure, size of business, balance of business, production rates, labor efficiency, and the effect of all factors upon maintenance of soil fertility and returns from capital, labor, and management in farm operations.

FARM MORTGAGE LOAN EXPERIENCE IN CENTRAL MONTANA. *P. S. Eckert and O. H. Maughan. Montana State College Bulletin 372. Bozeman, Mont. June 1939.*

Loan experience in Montana shows it to be disastrous—41 percent of all loans made from 1911–33 in the area studied had been foreclosed by the close of 1937, while 70 percent of those made from 1911–20 were foreclosed. Livestock ranchers had better loan experiences than wheat growers and, as might be expected, better grades of land had better loan records. It is probable from the relationships revealed that loans were not successfully adjusted to the productivity and debt-carrying capacity of the farms, and that good lands were possibly underappraised and poor lands overappraised. Larger farms had better loan experiences than small farms; farms of higher productivity value had better loan experiences, etc.

In general, the study reveals that five factors largely account for good or bad loan experience: (1) year loan made; (2) type of farm; (3) productiveness of land; (4) productivity value; and that loan experience is associated with (1) taxes as a percentage of productivity value; (2) use of telephones and electricity; (3) loan as a percentage of appraised value; and (4) loan per acre.

FARM ADJUSTMENTS IN MONTANA: STUDY OF AREA VII—ITS PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE. *Montana Exp. Sta. Bulletin 367. Montana State College, Bozeman. March 1939.*

In a series of studies, of which this bulletin is one, the 56 Montana counties have been grouped into 9 areas which present some degree of uniformity with respect to physical characteristics, farming types, and economic forces and problems that influence them. Area VII, reported upon here, is made up largely of Hill, Liberty, and Toole Counties, containing more than 4 million acres of land located in north-central Montana along the Canadian border.

Among the needed adjustments suggested for the area are adjustments in farm organization including flexibility in operation, full use of resources, adjustment in farm size, and adjustments in farm practices. In addition, the authors stress the fact that institutional adjustments will also be involved—reduction in the number of poorly staffed rural schools, concentrating them in areas where farms are being stabilized, and discouraging settlement in poor areas by withholding public service; maintaining a definite policy with respect to road establishment and sale of delinquent lands.

The adjustment process, it is said, will result eventually in the consolidation or abandonment of too small farms; wheat production will be confined to better lands; and livestock numbers will be governed by the feed resources the area can supply.

EROSION AND RELATED LAND-USE CONDITIONS ON THE MUSKINGUM RIVER WATERSHED. *H. H. Morse. Soil Conservation Service, U. S. Dept. of Agr. Wash., D. C. Supt. of Doc., \$1.00. 1939.*

The purpose of this survey was to determine in a general way the degree and extent of erosion in the watershed, what areas were in need of erosion control and what areas were little affected by erosion, steepness of slope where erosion was active, whether these slopes were cultivated on in woods or pasture, soils on the slopes and how they affected the washing that took place, and principally, to determine the relation of the erosion in the watershed to the flood-control problems of the Muskingum Conservancy District.

The survey furnishes a basis for the selection of critical areas where erosion control is greatly needed; gives a conception of the nature of the topography, soils, and land use within these areas, and indicates the nature of the erosion-control measures needed.

TERRACE OUTLETS AND FARM DRAINAGEWAYS. *C. L. Hamilton. U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. Farmers' Bulletin 1814. Supt. of Documents, 10 cents. July 1939.*

This bulletin is a compilation of the best information available for farmers on the construction and use of terrace outlets and the protection, improvement, and maintenance of other sloping drainageways. The scope of the material is limited to surface run-off disposal measures required in upland or rolling terrain where slopes are steep enough to cause channel erosion. It does not cover surface drainage or under-drainage of flatlands where natural drainage is inadequate.

FARM TENANCY AND LEASING. *J. B. McNulty. University of Minnesota Ext. Bull. 188. Univ. Farm, St. Paul, Minn. December 1938.*

This bulletin, replacing Spl. Bull. 153, "Suggestions on Farm Leases," presents two types of information relating to farm tenancy: Part I includes a discussion of the present farm tenancy situation in Minnesota; Part V covers types of leases, advantages and disadvantages to both tenants and landlords, and suggestions for planning and improving leases.

LAND POLICY REVIEW

Contents FOR SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1939

	Page
Government and the Humane Spirit . . <i>Charles A. Beard</i>	1
The Migrants—I <i>Davis McEntire and N. L. Whetten</i>	7
Definitions of "Efficient Farming" . . <i>Sherman E. Johnson</i>	18
The Wheat Community <i>J. H. McLeod</i>	24
Plans and the Man <i>Charles P. Loomis</i>	30
Raw Materials of Montana Policy . . . <i>Neil W. Johnson</i>	35
Contributors to This Issue	38
Farm Labor Here and Abroad <i>Charles L. Stewart</i>	39
Books	47
For Your Attention	53

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